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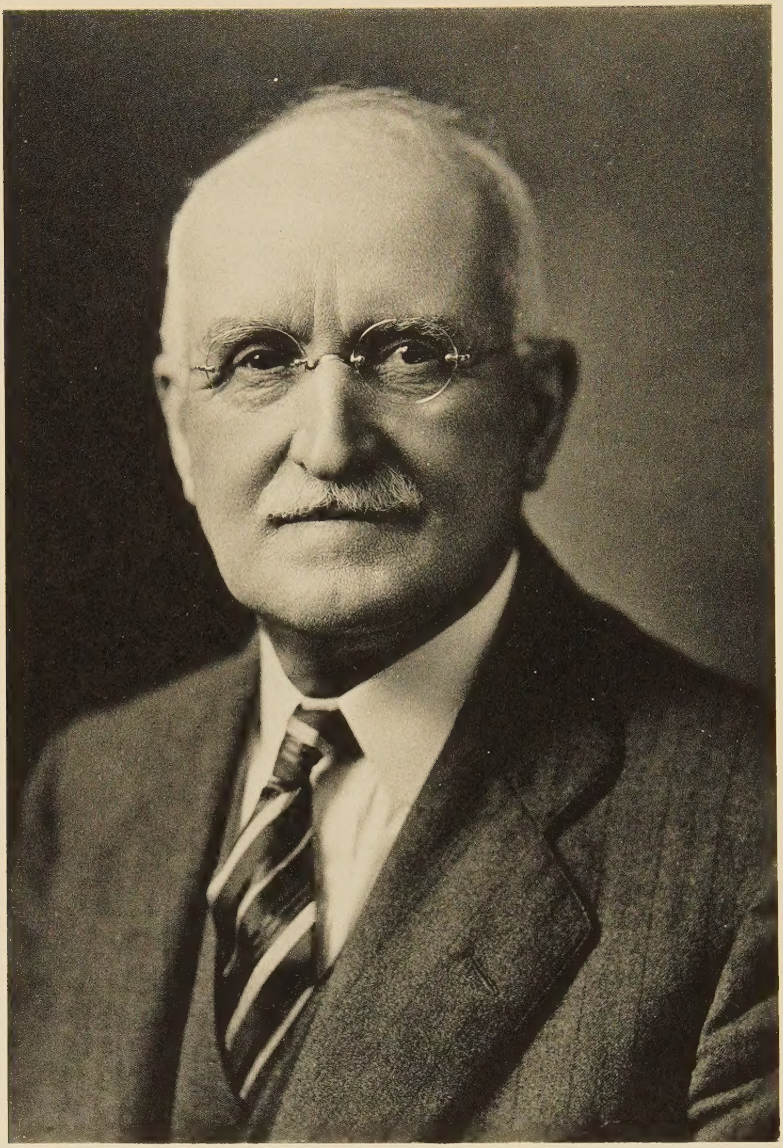

Julius H. Tuttle

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Massachusetts Historical Society

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Contents

PAGE

A Forgotten Member of the Winthrop Family, William Alabaster, by CHARLES HOWARD McILWAIN 3

Witches at Andover, by CLAUDE MOORE FUESS 8

Dwellers in Old Dwellings: George Berkeley at Whitehall and Adamses at Quincy, by MARK ANTONY DeWOLFE HOWE 21

Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760, by HENRY FORBUSH HOWE 33

The American and Irish Revolutions, by RICHARD WALDEN HALE, JR. 50

Learning and Liquor at Harvard College, 1792–1846, by CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS 56

Major William Hathaway Forbes and Colonel John Singleton Mosby: A Chapter from the Civil War, by ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER 65

Hampton Roads: Before and After, by F. LAURISTON BULLARD 76

A Crucial Juncture in the Political Careers of Lodge and Long, by PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE 102

Grover Cleveland as Seen by his Stenographer: July, 1892–November, 1895, by ROBERT LINCOLN O'BRIEN 128

The Society "Beats" Charles Francis Adams, 1914, by STEWART MITCHELL 144

Congressional Immunity and Privilege, by CLAUDE MOORE FUESS 148

Latin American Dictatorships and the United States, by CLARENCE HENRY HARING 158

Steps Toward Federation in Europe, by SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY 171

Diplomacy and Popular Government, by DEXTER PERKINS 184

A Postscript to *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, by WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL 203

PAGE

American Views of the Past, by OSCAR HANDLIN 227

Congressional Reapportionment Under the Census of 1950, by ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR. 237

Some Aspects of the Society's Manuscript Collection, by STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY 240

Some of the Treasures of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by MICHAEL JOSEPH WALSH 248

Memoirs:

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE, by STEWART MITCHELL 265
ALLYN BAILEY FORBES, by STEWART MITCHELL 267
HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE, by HENRY WILDER FOOTE 269
CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON, by CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON 271
SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT, by HENRY WILDER FOOTE 274
GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS, by STEWART MITCHELL 277
HENRY ADAMS, 2nd, by SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS 279
EDWIN MERRICK DODD, by ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR. 282
FREDERICK LAURISTON BULLARD, by ELWIN L. PAGE 290

Meetings 295

Corrections 388

Index 389

Illustrations

PAGE

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE *Frontispiece*

HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE 269

CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON 271

SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT 274

GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS 277

HENRY ADAMS, 2ND 279

EDWIN MERRICK DODD 282

FREDERICK LAURISTON BULLARD 290

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[1] Elected Resident Member, April 8, 1943; Corresponding Member, April 11, 1957.

[2] Elected Resident Member, May 13, 1948; Corresponding Member, October 11, 1956.

[3] Elected Corresponding Member, December 14, 1939; Resigned, November 12, 1956.

Proceedings

1950-1953

A Forgotten Member of the Winthrop Family, William Alabaster

CHARLES HOWARD McILWAIN[1]

THE subject of this paper enjoyed the unusual name of William Alabaster, or, as his opponents sometimes spelt it, possibly with malice aforethought, Alablaster. He was born at Hadleigh, Suffolk, in 1567, the son of Roger Alabaster and Bridget, daughter of Adam Winthrop, 2nd, and Agnes Sharpe, his second wife. His biographer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Thomas Fuller in his *History of the Worthies of England* say that he was a nephew of Dr. John Still, a famous master of Trinity College in Cambridge, but this is a mistake. His uncle Adam Winthrop's first wife was Alice Still, sister of Dr. John Still, but she died at the birth of her only child, and the child was born dead. William Alabaster was, therefore, a cousin to John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, who was his junior by some twenty years. Both were educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where Alabaster received his M.A., and in 1592 was said to have been "incorporated of the University of Oxford," whatever that may mean.

In 1596 he accompanied the Earl of Essex on his expedition to Cadiz, and while there was converted to the Roman Catholic faith by the Jesuits. In one of his later books, *Ecce Sponsus Venit*, published in 1633, he says he went to Rome and was imprisoned there, but eventually managed to escape. His uncle, Adam Winthrop, 3rd, in his diary under date of July 13, 1597, records that on that day "my Cosen Alib *fatebatur se esse papistam.*" On July 14, 1600, he notes that Alabaster "was removed out of the Tower into Framingham Castle," and in June, 1603, says that he "was committed againe to prison for popery." But on April 19, 1610, Adam Winthrop was told that "my nephewe was revolted from the popes Religion to our religion, *quod vix credo, licet verum esse libenter vellem*"—"I have my doubts, however much I might wish it were true." But he soon found that it was, for he adds later, "Since he came into England and revolted from the pope 1610

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[1] This paper was read at the March, 1952, meeting.

20 November." William Alabaster later obtained the living at Therfield in Hertfordshire, and apparently lived there until his death in 1640.

After his return to England Alabaster published the *Motives* which had led him to become a Romanist. This brought out at least two replies, one by Roger Fenton, "Preacher of Grayes Inne," published at London in 1599, and *William Alablaster's Seven Motuies* [*sic*] *Removed and Confuted*, by John Racster, 1598. The second of these is very interesting and gives additional facts about Alabaster, whom Racster evidently knew intimately. For example, he says, ". . . the same schoole bred vs both, the same Vniuersity nourced vs both, the same colledge maintained vs both, the same master preferred vs both, the same roofe, nay the same bed sometimes contained vs both."

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, there is reason to believe that a majority of Englishmen, and possibly a considerable majority, were still Roman Catholics, as the German historian Arnold Oskar Meyer has shown. But within a single generation thereafter occurred one of the most amazing and important cultural developments in all English history, and one that determined English policy, external as well as internal, for at least two centuries. Before the last session of the Council of Trent in 1563 and the formulation of Anglican doctrine in the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-Nine Articles, the dividing line between Romanism and Anglicanism was a rather indefinite one in England, and the moderate policy of Elizabeth's earlier years as Queen then led many Roman Catholic families to allow their children to frequent the Anglican services. In fact, the Queen's policy, like that of her father, was not so much religious as political—"that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal may for ever be clearly extinguished," as Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy put it in 1559. As a result, England, in that short half century or less, became predominently Protestant, as she has remained to the present day. But the Queen's ecclesiastical policy, and the mild or lax enforcement of her laws against nonconformity in those earlier years of her reign ultimately led to other results as well, and they were scarcely less lasting and important, for they inevitably contributed to that rift between the later Laudian and the Puritan definition of Protestantism which so colors all subsequent history, not only in the realm of England, but in all the Queen's "other dominions or countries," as well.

The effect among English Catholics was scarcely less important. Some English Catholics, as Cardinal Allen, Robert Parsons Campian, and others, advocated the militant policy of the Jesuits in the hope and the apparent belief that thus England might be brought back to her ancient traditional faith. But other English Catholics, and apparently a majority of them in Elizabeth's later years, strenuously opposed such measures. What they chiefly wanted was toleration on the part of government, and they attributed the harshness of the recent anti-Catholic statutes largely to the activity of the militant Jesuit party itself. This radical division among Catholics was later systematically fostered by Archbishop Bancroft, and to foster it further remained throughout James I's reign the guiding principle of all the government's relations with the King's Catholic subjects. The result of these changes and divisions was tragic for many families in England, as in the case of the Walpole family, one of whose members was tried and executed in 1595. Dr. Augustus Jessopp has given us a fair and sympathetic account of it in his *One Generation of a Norfolk House.* Such cases were fewer perhaps in Alabaster's time than those occasioned by the English civil wars a half century later, but they were often far more tragic.

It was in the midst of such cross currents as these that William Alabaster grew up; but such fame as he enjoyed during his own lifetime, and such notice as he may be entitled to now, depend not on these matters, but on his literary productions, on the estimate of them expressed by competent critics of the time, and on the question as to whether their estimate is justified by the writings themselves. Of these writings, the first I shall mention is certainly of the slightest significance as literature. I include it here solely for its value as evidence on a much disputed question of some historical importance. It is entitled, "In duos Reginaldos inter se de religione certantes." Alabaster's biographer, in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* refers to it as "an unpublished tract." In actual fact, it is a Latin poem of just twelve lines, and it was published at least three times to my knowledge before the end of the seventeenth century; in Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie,* and in the two editions of the *History of Romish Treasons and Usurpations,* by Henry Foulis, where the original Latin is given, together with the English translation, "thus rendered for the ingenious Doctor Peter Heylin."

The two Reginaldi, or Reynoldses to whom the poem refers, were brothers, and the book of William the elder, *Liber de Justa Reipublicae Christianæ in Reges Impios et Hæreticos Authoritate*, published in Paris in 1590, was praised by the papal legate in France as the best of all the many books that emanated from the Catholic League. It was certainly also one of the most extreme, for in one chapter Reynolds proves to his own satisfaction that "modern Protestantism is worse than ancient heresy," and in another, that "Calvinism is far more detestable than paganism or the faith of the Turks." Yet this very William Reynolds was brother to John Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, author of a book, *de Romanae Ecclesiae Idolatria*, leader of the Calvinistic and Puritan party at the famous Hampton Court conference in 1604, who was belabored by James I, and apparently the man from whom came the first suggestion that resulted in the so-called King James Version of the English Bible. Probably he and Thomas Cartwright were the two most prominent Puritans in England at the opening of the seventeenth century.

But the current story was that John was at first a Catholic and his brother William a Protestant, that each had formerly set to work to convert the other, and that both had been completely successful! The story is dismissed by John Reynolds's modern biographer as probably "apochryphal," but of the many contemporaries who believed it was true, Alabaster's poem shows that he was one, and his opportunity of learning the truth when himself a Catholic refugee at Douai and elsewhere on the Continent, was exceptionally good. Here is the poem in Heylyn's rather free translation:

In Point of Faith some undetermined Jars
Betwixt two Brothers kindled Civil Wars;
One for the Churches *Reformation* stood,
The other thought no *Reformation* good.
The Points propos'd they traversed the Field
With equal skill, and both together yield.
As they desir'd, his brother each subdues,
Yet such their Faith, that each his Faith doth lose.
Both Captives none the Prisoners thence to guide;
The Victor flying to the vanquish'd side.
Both joy'd in being conquer'd (strange to say)
And yet both mourned, because both won the day.

The two works by Alabaster of greatest importance, however, were his *Elisæis* and his *Roxana*. The former is a fairly long eulogy of Queen

Elizabeth written, as usual, in Latin verse, and published in 1591, to which the poet Spenser refers with admiration in his *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe*. The latter, a Latin tragedy with its scene in Bactria, was Alabaster's most ambitious work, and the one on which his fame chiefly rested. It was not published till 1632, but it must have been fairly well known before that. A public performance of it had been given in Trinity College, Cambridge. In his *History of the Worthies of England*, of whom he lists Alabaster as one, Thomas Fuller gives an amusing account of the performance of *Roxana* at Cambridge and speaks of its author as:

> a most rare poet as any our age or nation hath produced; witness his tragedy of "Roxana," admirably acted in that college, and so pathetically, that a gentlewoman present thereat (Reader, I had it from an author whose credit it is sin with me to suspect), at the hearing of the last words thereof, *sequar, sequar* [*sic*], so hideously pronounced, fell distracted, and never after fully recovered her senses.

The brief account of Alabaster I have given here is little more than a footnote to the short introduction in Lawrence Mayo's admirable history of the Winthrop family, published by the Society, which makes no mention of Alabaster; but I felt that any cousin of Governor Winthrop was entitled to a footnote at least, when so famous a contemporary author as Thomas Fuller could speak of him as "a most rare poet as any our age or nation hath produced."

It is true that modern critics have not all been quite so enthusiastic. Henry Hallam, for instance, intimates that *Roxana* is little more than a slavish copy of an earlier Latin original; and Alabaster's biographer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* considers it "a stiff and lifeless piece of work." So far as I could discover none of Alabaster's contemporaries would have agreed, and not his contemporaries alone: Anthony à Wood, the historian of Oxford, goes so far as to refer to Alabaster as "the rarest poet that any age or nation produced," and even Dr. Johnson, who was sometimes a cruel critic, says that "if we produced anything worthy of notice before the elegies of Milton it was perhaps Alabaster's *Roxana*."

Witches at Andover

Claude Moore Fuess[1]

What is traditionally called the Salem Witchcraft actually originated in a Massachusetts community which was set apart in 1672 as Salem Village Parish, but in 1752 became Danvers. The average reader of history, moreover, does not realize to what extent the neighboring town of Andover was implicated and what damage was caused in that area. In some respects the consequences of the hysteria at Andover were even more horrifying and incredible than they were at Salem Village. During the spring and summer of 1692 the Devil took over Andover, and a village, which, except for Indian raids, had been relatively placid since its settlement half a century before was gripped by fear and terror. The gruesome story of how a neurotic, irresponsible group of girls, directed by some fanatic in the background, corrupted a supposedly mature and respectable society is the saddest chapter in the annals of the town. At the crisis of the delusion the saintly as well as the disreputable were liable at any hour to be charged with witchcraft and convicted on the most preposterous evidence. According to sworn testimony warlocks and witches rode the air on broomsticks; strange apparitions desecrated wastes and meadows; unholy rites of baptism and consecration were celebrated; innocent men and women were plagued and marked with degrading signs. Indeed all Hell broke loose! It could have been said, in the words of Shakespeare's Antony:

> O, Judgment! Thou art fled to brutish beasts,
> And men have lost their reason!

The sociological drama had the structure and inevitability of a Sophoclean tragedy. Starting slowly, with what seemed trivial and innocuous incidents, it marched steadily without interruption towards a grim climax and catastrophe. It had its meanness and its grandeur, its suffering and its humor, its cowardice and its stoicism. Although exposing some of the vilest elements in the human nature, it also revealed amazing qualities of dignity and courage. It should have had lessons for posterity—lessons which were not fully learned. The heresy trials of the 1880's at Andover Theological Seminary were suspiciously like belated witch hunts. And even in 1953 honest men are condemned on hearsay, on unfounded but reiterated accusations. Perhaps we should not expect too much from our ancestors of 1692.

---

[1] This paper was read at the January, 1953, meeting.

The story is necessarily told here in condensed form, with many details omitted. The trouble started in February, 1692, when a group of what we should now call "teen-agers" in Salem Village, headed by an eleven-year-old "show-off," Abigail Williams, and instigated by an ignorant Negro servant, Tituba, displayed symptoms of epilepsy and declared themselves bewitched. No Girl Scouts then existed to give them a healthful outlet for their emotional disturbances. At this point a good sound thrashing might have prevented many later deaths. Instead, the local physician, unable to make a satisfactory medical diagnosis, declared that the evil hand had touched the girls; and the village clergyman, the Reverend Samuel Parris, whose nine-year-old daughter was involved, took seriously their wild convulsions and wailings and announced a solemn day of fasting and prayer. Thus the two leaders who should have used their calming influence to check these absurdities were found wanting; and as one writer has truly said, "ignorance placed the seal of doom upon the village."

Pressed as to the cause of their afflictions, the girls accused certain women of the neighborhood of being responsible. Formal charges were preferred, investigations were conducted, and three persons were consigned to Ipswich prison, entirely on evidence supplied by these misguided adolescents. Modern psychiatry has no difficulty in explaining the conduct of the girls. What is hard to understand is how supposedly cool-headed adults could for a moment have been deceived.

As the dazzling success of their methods became apparent, the girls grew more comprehensive, daring, and explicit in their denunciations—especially Ann Putnam, the twelve-year-old daughter of the eminently respectable Sergeant Putnam, and perhaps the most audacious and dangerous of the childish paranoiacs. Persons of spotless reputation, like the septuagenarian, Rebecca Nurse, were hailed before the magistrates, and the prison was soon crowded with victims. Many of them, weary and bewildered, made confessions, which they later repudiated, and this naturally was confusing. Each new "witch" apprehended encouraged the girls in their sadistic operations. Meanwhile other malignant influences, difficult to trace, made their appearance. Half-forgotten quarrels were remembered and petty spites revived. Older people with grudges undoubtedly put ideas into susceptible childish heads. Nobody could feel quite safe.

What was happening at Salem Village was cause for scandal throughout the colony, but other townships avoided the infection—all except Andover. The first sensational figure in the Andover drama was Martha, wife of Thomas Carrier, who about 1690 came from Billerica with her husband and children and moved into the house of her mother, the "Widdow Allen," in what was known as the South End. For some reason she was not popular. Possibly the Andover proprietors simply did not wish to have any more settlers claiming or occupying the lands allotted to them. More probably she was a sharp-tongued, contentious female who sometimes quarreled with her neighbors. She resembled women depicted by Edith Wharton, or Dorothy Canfield, or Robert Frost. At any rate, she was "warned out" by the selectmen; and on May 28, 1692, she was arrested and carried off to Salem Village, where the agitation was then raging. Three days later she was brought into the village church and confronted with five girls who, as soon as she looked at them, "fell into the most intolerable cries and agonies." Her bearing was defiant, and she never ceased to assert her innocence. Indeed at one point she turned desperately upon the magistrates and exclaimed, "It is all false; and it is a shame for you to mind what these say that are out of their wits." But the girls continued to writhe on the floor and roll their eyes and utter outlandish noises, and their antics were so convincing that Martha Carrier was dragged to jail, handcuffed and fettered, to await further trial, together with her sons and small daughter, who had presumably been contaminated. She was no "arrant hag," as the Reverend Cotton Mather described her, but a relatively young woman; yet again and again, as the weeks went by, she was described as Queen of Hell.

In early August Martha Carrier was brought up for trial, under conditions which made her acquittal impossible. Her two sons were tied "neck and heel till the blood was ready to come out of their noses"—and only then were willing to testify against their mother. Her seven-year-old daughter, unaware of the implications of what she was saying, was asked, "What made you a witch?" She answered, "My mother. She made me set my hand to a book." Under interrogation, the child declared that she had seen a cat, who said that it would tear her to pieces if she did not sign the book. "How did you know that the cat was your mother?" was asked; and back came the reply, "Because the cat told me so!"

Throughout these humiliations Martha Carrier stoutly maintained her innocence. The scene as she faced her accusers would make a fine subject for a painting by Grant Wood—the ostentatiously incorruptible magistrates, the highly emotional girls, the trembling children, and the spectators who had come to watch and listen and wonder. She was condemned, almost as a matter of course, and hanged on August 19, 1692, along with four men, including one former minister of Salem Village, the Reverend George Burroughs. Of all the victims of the delusion Martha Carrier stands out as the most vividly heroic—the only one who never in any circumstances broke down and made a confession. Even on the scaffold she remained firm—a figure who, for her courage, deserves to be classed with the most stalwart of the martyrs.

While Martha Carrier was lying in her cell, an Andover resident named Joseph Ballard, much troubled by his wife's persistent and mysterious illness and hearing of the charges against "Goody" Carrier, resolved to ascertain whether witchcraft could have anything to do with her ailment. He appealed, therefore, to Salem Village; and soon there rode from there on horseback not only Ann Putnam, now notorious as an exposer of witches, but also her sixteen-year-old accomplice, Mary Walcott, daughter of a church deacon. As might have been expected, the two young hellions brought trouble in their wake. Received with deference, as if they were eminent specialists or dignitaries of the church, they were taken not only into the Ballard home in the South End but also into a score of other sickrooms. In each of these they went through their repertoire of frenzied acts, barking like dogs, mewing like cats, and wriggling on the floor in fantastic contortions. When they were brought into an afflicted house, various blind-folded persons, some of them already labelled as suspects, were led up one by one to touch them. If Ann or Mary then drew a sobbing breath and relaxed her convulsions, it was assumed that a witch had been made to call off her devils and that the one who had done the touching was therefore guilty. As thus described, the procedure seems preposterous, but most of those present regarded it as an infallible test. Some malicious resident must, of course, have taken the leadership in giving the girls information, but I have been unable to ascertain from the records who was responsible.

The results of this visitation were extraordinary. The first people under suspicion in both Salem Village and Andover had been those who were definitely "queer" or "half-witted," or anti-social—like Martha Carrier. Every New England village has its forlorn souls on the fringes of society who for one reason or another are unpopular. But these two girls from another township pointed the finger of accusation not only at outcasts and vagabonds but at some of the most respected citizens. Before their "epidemic of audacity" was over, at least forty members of the community were under arrest—one out of every twelve or fifteen. As the full scope of the charges was disclosed, Justice Dudley Bradstreet, son of the governor, refused to sign any more warrants, on the ground that the evidence was insufficient. Bradstreet was undoubtedly the town's foremost citizen, but now, when he attempted to curb the rising mob spirit, the extremists took over—as so often happens—and he was denounced. He could have endured being accused of killing nine persons, but when his charming wife was named also as a suspect, he packed up and left the community until the agitation had subsided. For several grim weeks the worst elements in the Andover settlement gained control, and nobody with even the most spotless reputation or surest social position could feel safe.

One remarkable case was that of Mary (Clemance) Osgood, wife of Captain John Osgood, who had been moderator of the town meeting in 1689 and representative from Andover in its protests against the autocratic demands of the Royal governor. A woman of irreproachable character, she was hounded by her brother until she admitted that she had prayed to the Devil instead of to God, had seen the Devil in the form of a cat, and had for eleven years been devoted to the service of Satan. Later she recanted, and told the Reverend Increase Mather that those around her had "continued so long and so violently to urge and press her to confess that she thought verily her life would have gone from her." Even her husband testified that he believed her absurd confession. Here was a woman presumably of exceptional intelligence who gave way under the strain, and thus at the time seemed to be guilty.

Most extraordinary and inexplicable of all, however, is the persecution of the Reverend Francis Dane. In 1692 he was seventy-six years old and had been minister of the parish for forty-three years. He had frequently expressed doubts as to the validity of diabolical influence, and he was not at all impressed by the young fanatics of Salem Village. He was, however, much disturbed as the frenzy mounted and some of his parishioners and neighbors, like Mary Osgood, under the stress of emotion confessed to crimes which they could not possibly have committed. Mr. Dane, during his long frontier life, had seen many sides of human nature. No wonder that he listened skeptically when William Barker admitted that he had signed the Devil's book in exchange for an agreement that Satan would pay all his debts and give him a comfortable existence to the end of his days. He was horrified when members of his own congregation told weird stories of taking midnight journeys through the air and being baptized by the Devil in Five Mile Pond. He made no secret of his incredulity; and soon the leaders of the delusion—whose names will probably always remain a secret—made attacks on the family of the minister and even on Mr. Dane himself.

Dane's daughter, Abigail, had married Francis Faulkner, son of Edmond Faulkner, one of the few original proprietors given in the records the title of "Mr." The Faulkner family, like the Bradstreets and the Osgoods, was rated as one of Andover's best. Nevertheless, the Salem Village girls marked Abigail Faulkner down as a victim, and a warrant was sworn out against her. Nothing that her father or her husband could do was able to prevent her being brought up for examination. In court, her daughters, Dorothy and Abigail, ten and eight years old, respectively, were induced to confess that they were witches and that their mother had taught them their iniquity. When her inquisitors at one point urged her to confess "for the credit of her Towne," Mrs. Faulkner replied, "God will not require me to confess that of which I am not guilty."

Although in moments of weakness she sometimes lost her self-assurance, she refused to save her life by admitting her guilt, and her father supported her in this brave decision. She was found guilty of the "Felony of Witchcraft" and sentenced to death, but after being detained in a cell for thirteen weeks, she was at last released because of her pregnancy. What happened to her husband during this long period of suspense may be left to the imagination. Miraculously, however, she survived all these disasters, and in the year 1700 she presented a memorial to the General Court praying for the obliteration of the verdict against her, which, she declared, was likely to remain "a perpetual brand of infamy upon my family." Not until October 17, 1711, was a reversal of attainder finally obtained. She lived on until 1729, thirty-seven years after her frightful ordeal, and what stories she must have had to tell!

Another of Mr. Dane's daughters, Elizabeth, had married Stephen Johnson, belonging to a family the members of which for three generations had been constables, selectmen, and other town officials in Andover. She was imprisoned for five months, but ultimately acquitted. Her daughter, Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., had a much more frightening experience. Brought up before the magistrates, she was so terrified that she pleaded guilty to every suggested charge, even confessing that "Goody" Carrier, the Queen of the Witches, had persuaded her to be baptized in a well by the Devil. The poor girl admitted that she had afflicted many persons with poppets and had pricked Ann Putnam with a "speare of iron." She also displayed red spots on her body where she had been sucked by the evil spirit. It seems clear, as we read the testimony, that she was in a mood where she was ready to agree to any suggestion. In spite of all that her grandfather, Mr. Dane, could do, she was condemned; but she was eventually reprieved, perhaps because it was discovered that, to quote Mr. Dane, she was "but simplish at the best." Her brother, Stephen, thirteen, and her sister, Abigail, only eleven, were also shut up with their mother as suspects. One of the most amazing phenomena of the whole witchcraft delusion is the importance attached to children—as witnesses and victims.

While these members of his family were undergoing their ordeal, the Reverend Mr. Dane played a waiting game, expecting that the violent hysteria would soon run its course; but he evidently counselled them how to conduct themselves whenever their situation became critical. Some of the more active prosecutors apparently marked him down to be eliminated, but he knew how to protect himself. When Ann Foster was testifying against "Goody" Carrier, she alleged that she had ridden on a stick with her to Salem Village and had there met with three hundred witches, among whom were not only the Reverend George Burroughs (afterwards executed) but also "another minister with grey hair," who might have been taken to be Mr. Dane. But nobody ever dared accuse him directly of witchcraft. His enemies struck at him through his family.

Andrew Foster, one of the original proprietors of Andover, died in 1685, at the age of 106, leaving to his "deare and loving wife Ann Foster the use and sole liberty of living in that end of my house I now live in." In 1692, this aged and infirm widow, described as weak in both body and mind, was carried from her home to prison and examined four times in court at Salem. Harassed by the magistrates, she agreed to every charge brought against her, even confessing to a series of atrocities. Like others, she admitted that she had employed the well-known practice of making images of people she disliked and running pins through their bodies.

When, however, Ann Foster's daughter, Mary Lacey, and her granddaughter, Mary Lacey, Jr., were accused, the old lady rose to their defense, crying, "I know no more of my daughter's being a witch than what day I shall die upon!" But her protests were useless. The pliant daughter insisted that they were both witches, and the little granddaughter confirmed the story. When Ann Foster, tired and overwrought, was heard mumbling to herself and asked what she was saying, she replied, "I am praying to the Lord." "What God do witches pray to?", inquired one examiner. The poor woman could only answer in desperation, "I cannot tell; the Lord help me!" The account of the torture of this helpless old creature by these hard-hearted judges stirs the wrath of readers, even today, 260 years after the event. Ann Foster was condemned as a "confessing witch" but was later reprieved and died in prison. Her son, Abraham Foster, in petitioning for the removal of her attainder, declared that he had been compelled to pay the jailer two pounds, ten shillings, before he was allowed to remove the dead body of his mother. Where Ann Foster lived, nobody knows, and her grave has never been found. But surely she ought not be forgotten.

Samuel Wardwell was a carpenter by trade, with a wife and several small children. Up to 1692 he was regarded by his neighbors as an eccentric but harmless individual who sometimes told fortunes, played with magic, and even in jesting moods claimed supernatural powers. His peculiarities naturally attracted the attention of the witch-hunters, and he was charged with having practised "certain detestable arts called witchcraft and sorceries." Confronted by an impressive array of accusers, Wardwell confessed that while he was in a discontented mood because of a thwarted love affair with "a maid named Barker," he had seen some "catts" meeting together behind Mr. Bradstreet's house. One of them, assuming the form of a Black Man, told him that if he would only sign the book, he should "live comfortably and be made a captain"—like Dudley Bradstreet. Following the classic example of Faust, Wardwell closed the fatal contract and was then baptized in the Shawsheen River and abandoned his previous church affiliations.

Later, like many others, Wardwell recovered from his weakness and withdrew his confession, declaring that the examiners had pressed him so hard that he had been persuaded, in a moment of fright, that he had done the deeds attributed to him. From that hour until his execution he never again gave way. He regretted that he had even once "belyed" himself, announcing that even though persistence in his recantation might cost him his life, he would stick to the truth. No one of sufficient importance intervened in his behalf, and he was hanged on September 22, with Mary Parker—another Andover resident—and six others. Even as the noose was being adjusted around his neck, Wardwell in a firm voice declared that he was innocent. While he was speaking, a puff of smoke from the executioner's pipe blew across his face, and some crazy girl shouted, "The Devil doth hinder his words!" On this occasion the Reverend Nicholas Noyes, of the First Church of Salem, not content with watching, addressed the multitude of spectators, saying, "What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of Hell hanging there!"

This dramatic mass execution marked the climax of the hysteria. Already many sensitive persons were shocked at the fury which the hysterical girls from Salem Village had let loose in Andover. The wholesale denunciations were arousing much concealed and some open indignation; and the imprisonment of more than forty men, women, and children was being resented by relatives and neighbors. Common sense, disregarded for weeks, slowly began to reassert itself. Early in October a petition was sent to the General Court signed by twenty-six citizens, including the two ministers, Mr. Dane and Mr. Barnard, as well as other conservative leaders in Andover. In begging for a redress of their grievances, as they had a right to do, the signators asserted that "it is well known that many persons of this town have been accused of witchcraft by some distempered persons in these parts and upon complaint have been apprehended and committed to prison." The bold use of the adjective "distempered" at a moment when eight victims had recently been hanged has much significance as indicating that Mr. Dane and his supporters had at last resolved to stand their ground. They went on to add: "We can truly give this Testimony of the most of them belonging to this town that have been accused that they never gave the slightest occasion as we hear of to their nearest relatives or most intimate acquaintance to suspect them of witchcraft."

The argument of this petition was substantiated by a young man named Thomas Brattle, who in a letter circulated in manuscript among certain selected legislators, declared: "This Salem philosophy, some men call the new philosophy; but I think it rather deserves the name of Salem superstition and sorcery; and it is not fitt to be named in a land of such light as New-England is." Brattle pointed out that the court had accepted as evidence what amounted to little more than malevolent gossip and had listened to immature girls who were both mountebanks and liars. "Poor Andover," he commented truthfully, "does now rue the day that ever the said afflicted went among them." Finally, in words which were strong and true, he called on the approaching session of the General Court to counteract the mischief caused by these "blind, nonsensical girls."

The mood of the colony changed rapidly. Mr. Dane pushed his advantage with other petitions, and when fifty-three alleged witches were brought up for trial only three were convicted and condemned, on their own foolish statements. Of these, two—Sarah Wardwell and Elizabeth Johnson—were residents of Andover. At this point the very practical Sir William Phips, the colonial governor, intervened and, after investigating each case personally, signed reprieves for all the condemned persons. Later, at the April session of the General Court in Boston in 1693, the whole group were cleared, and in May the governor issued a proclamation of general pardon. The comment of the ruthless Judge William Stoughton was brief and definite, "We were in a way to have cleared the land of witches. . . . Who it is that obstructs the course of justice I know not. The Lord be merciful to the country." The unconscious irony in the word "merciful" can hardly have escaped the Reverend Mr. Dane!

Most of those active in the prosecution ultimately were swayed by remorse and repentance. Largely through the efforts of the Reverend Samuel Willard, January 15, 1697, was set apart as a day of fast in

Massachusetts, and Judge Samuel Sewall, standing before his own congregation, acknowledged his full share of responsibility for the wrongs which had been done. Even the jurors who had condemned so many prepared a statement admitting that not being "capable to understand nor able to withstand the mysterious delusion of the power of darkness and prince of the air," they feared they had been instrumental with others, "though ignorantly and unwillingly," in shedding innocent blood. Frankly, if belatedly, they expressed to the survivors their "deep sense of sorrow" and begged forgiveness for their errors.

The dead could not, of course, be brought back to life, and nothing could compensate for the suffering which had been caused. What restitution could have been made to Giles Cory, who had been suffocated in an open field beside the Salem jail with heavy rocks piled on his chest. He had not broken under the ordeal but, according to tradition, merely gasped as he was dying, "More weight!" Some persons of influence, like John Alden, and Philip English, and Dudley Bradstreet, recovered from the shock and lived out their lives in peace. But those who were poor or unprotected paid a heavy penalty for their ignorance and weakness.

A few of the surviving "witches" from Andover and Topsfield complained to the General Court in 1702 that their names had been exposed to "infamy and reproach," and their appeal for removal of the attainder was backed by strong representations from twelve ministers of Essex County. But the legislators, not sure of their ground, took no action. In 1709, however, the prosperous Philip English, of Salem, who had fled to New York, brought pressure on the General Court, asking not only for the restoration of the good names of himself and his fellow-sufferers but also for reimbursement of financial loss. Eventually political acumen rather than pricks of conscience drove the court in 1711 to appropriate a small sum and distribute it among the surviving victims.

The Reverend Mr. Parris, in whose house the delusion had first broken out and who had fostered it by his foolish conduct, had inevitably made enemies. He tried to placate the mounting storm of criticism by humbling himself before his congregation and offering his sympathy to those who had suffered through "the clouds of human weakness and Satan's wiles and sophistry." Eventually, however, he was forced to resign, and many citizens of Salem Village breathed more easily when he and his family had departed.

The precocious Ann Putnam, whose irrational behavior had occasioned so much misery to the people of Andover, stood up in August, 1706, when she was still only twenty-seven years old, in the little church at Salem Village to repent publicly of her sins and ask to be admitted as a communicant. Full of contrition, she confessed: "It was a great delusion of Satan that deceived me in that sad time. . . . I did it not out of anger, malice, or ill will." And so she was forgiven and taken into the fold! Her health, however, was broken by the excitement of which she had been the centre. It is understandable why she never married, for young men must have been shy of a woman with her neurotic tendencies. She died in Salem Village in 1716, the last person to be buried in the old Putnam tomb in the Thomas Putnam burying ground.

What became of the other crazy girls from Salem Village? Some of them were alleged, in the reversal of attainder in 1711, to have "discovered themselves to be persons of profligate and vicious conversation," but no names were specified. "Betty" Parris, one of the youngest and least guilty, left the community with her father, probably taking with her the obnoxious Abigail Williams, her cousin. We have no information about any of the others. Out of the fate of these dim and sinister figures Thomas Hardy could have constructed a tragic novel. But I doubt whether any research, however intensive, will bring out any further facts.

In 1692, Thomas Carrier, husband of Martha Carrier, was sixty-six years old. His wife enjoyed notoriety as Queen of the Witches and was hanged; his sons were cast into jail and suffered greatly; his small daughter was persuaded to confess against her mother. But he survived all this misery, moved late in life to Colchester, Connecticut, and there died in 1735 at the recorded mature age of 109. It was reported by Abiel Abbot, the first historian of Andover, that Carrier's head was not bald nor his hair grey, and that a few days before he died he walked six miles. Indeed on the morning before his death he was visiting his neighbors, possibly exchanging reminiscences with them about his acquaintance with witches.

In the whole township of Andover in 1692 there may have been at the most six hundred souls, of whom more than fifty were at one time or another charged with witchcraft. What with the gossip, the confusion of the various arrests and trials, and the atmosphere of suspicion, the community must have been tremendously stirred. The Reverend Mr. Dane might well have quoted Macbeth:

> Can such things be,
> And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
> Without our special wonder?

Dwellers in Old Dwellings

George Berkeley at Whitehall and Adamses at Quincy

MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE[1]

BERKELEY AT WHITEHALL

THE Reverend James Honeyman (or Honyman), minister of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was in his pulpit at Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, on Sunday, January 23, 1729, when a messenger delivered a letter to him. He opened it at once, and learned that the Very Reverend George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, in Ireland, might land in Newport at any moment. Honeyman brought the service to a quick conclusion, and with his congregation proceeded to Ferry Wharf to welcome the famous dean, who had sailed early in September from Gravesend with his young wife, her friend Miss Handcock, Smibert the painter, and two gentlemen, Dalton and James by name, traveling for pleasure and stopping over at the Virginia port at which the ship had touched on its way to Newport.

Berkeley's wife was soon to present him with his first child. Of her he wrote as one "whose humour and turn of mind pleased me beyond anything that I know in her whole sex." The fame of Berkeley as a philosopher must have meant as much in Newport as in any American town—perhaps more than elsewhere. The town was bustling with prosperous commerce. Withal, there was a leaven of intellectual activity capable of responsive quickening through the presence of a distinguished philosopher. His early writings, *The Theory of Vision*, *Principles of Human Knowledge*, and *Dialogues*, would have found competent readers in Newport, if anywhere in the colonies. There may not have been many to grasp completely his great "New Principle"—*esse est percipi*—to exist is to be perceived, which is like saying that nothing exists but in the thought of it, an early assertion of the superiority of mind over matter. Yet where, if not in Newport, would this have been understood?

Berkeley, born in Kilkenny County, Ireland, March 2/12, 1685, was not quite forty-four years old when he landed in Newport. He had studied and taught at Trinity College, Dublin. According to a story of that period of his life, he witnessed an execution by hanging, and after it induced a friend, an uncle of Oliver Goldsmith, to hang him by way of experiment. When this was stopped just short of success, Berkeley, apparently already in clerical orders, is reported to have exclaimed, "Bless me, Contarine, you have rumpled my band!" Here was an empiricist indeed, ready to try anything.

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[1] This paper was read at the January, 1951, meeting.

In 1713 he made his first trial of London, where he was welcomed to the company of writers and wits who became the glory of their time —Steele, Swift, Addison, Arbuthnot, Pope. It was Pope who ascribed "to Berkeley every virtue under Heaven." When Addison's *Cato* had its first production, Berkeley was among the friends who sipped with him the burgundy and champagne that kept his spirits up between the acts. When Swift's Vanessa was about to die, angry at the report of his marriage with Stella, she so identified one of the future deans with the other that she made a last-minute change in her will, under which Berkeley, instead of Swift, became a beneficiary. These may seem trifling instances, but they serve to suggest the kind of social experience Berkeley could bring with him to Newport.

The trial of London led to the trial of continental travel, in two tours, first as chaplain to a diplomat, then as companion to the son of an Irish bishop. Through this experience Berkeley's taste in all the arts was nourished and enlarged. Travel ended, the books that fixed his reputation as a thinker written and published, he turned from philosophy to concrete plans for human betterment—especially his Bermuda College project. It was this that brought him to Newport.

The "still-vexed Bermoothes" of Shakespeare still vexed the minds of later poets and others in England. To Berkeley Bermuda appeared the ideal place for the establishment of a college for the education of colonial candidates for the ministry of the Church of England, and also for the Christianizing of Indians. The project was so appealing that scholars of Trinity and gentlemen of England were prepared to join Berkeley in carrying it out. When he laid his plan before the Scriblerus Club, dining at Lord Bathurst's house in London, the members rose to their feet exclaiming, "Let us set out with him immediately!" The realistic William Byrd of Virginia raised the objection that there were no Indians in Bermuda and that Berkeley would have to bring them as captives from the American continent before their Christianization could begin. This did not discourage Berkeley and his friends, some of whom made liberal subscriptions to his enterprise. The British government, moreover, voted a grant of twenty thousand pounds—unhappily never paid—for the project.

Berkeley had already been appointed Dean of Derry, and, even in those days of absentee office-holding, his going direct to Bermuda would have cost him the tenancy of this post, as, for some reason, his coming to the continental New World would not. He was actuated, besides, by a wish to establish a base of supplies in food and income for his Bermuda college. Therefore, after spending a few months as the guest of the Reverend Mr. Honeyman, he bought a farm of about a hundred acres adjoining the farm of his clerical host, a few miles north of Newport town, and built on it the house which he named "Whitehall" in token of his loyalty to that royal family of England whose palace had borne that name. The house may now be found near the meeting of two pleasantly named thoroughfares—Paradise Road, running north from Newport, and Green End Avenue—on Berkeley Avenue, a continuation of Paradise Road.

There were possibilities of Berkeley's acquiring land also on Fishers Island and the Elizabeth Islands as further bases of supply for Bermuda, but the "Whitehall" farm was held sufficient for the needs, which, in fact, never arose.

While Berkeley was living at "Whitehall," for the better part of three years, he produced a substantial book, *Alciphron; or, the Minute Philosopher* in "Seven Dialogues. Containing an Apology for the Christian Religion against those who are called Freethinkers," which is counted among his more important works. The Platonic dialogues of which it consists involves a group of accomplished friends bearing such classical names as Alciphron, Euphranor, Lysicles, and Crito. The term "minute philosopher" was derived from Cicero. In the first of the dialogues Berkeley identifies this philosopher with the modern freethinker, as belonging to a "sort of sect which diminish all the most valuable things, the thoughts, views, and hopes of men. . . . Human nature they contract and degrade to the narrow low standard of animal life, and assign us only a small pittance of time instead of immortality." Against this sect the claims of religion, especially as shown forth in the Church of England, are strongly urged. The book is written with such charm as to be far from unreadable today. This is hardly the time or place for any detailed study of it. Let us see what specific relation it bore to Berkeley's stay in Newport.

The book begins with an obvious reference to the impending collapse of the Bermuda project. "Events are not in our power; but it always is to make good use of even the very worst." Hence, for one "who unites in his own person the philosopher and the farmer," the recourse to writing "in this distant retreat, far beyond the surge of that great whirlpool of business, faction and pleasure which is called *the world.*"

A modest eminence near Berkeley's house bore the name of "Honeyman's Hill." The dean himself did not build, as he might have done, on a little hill of his own, but showed himself indeed a philosopher when he said—or is said to have said—"to enjoy the prospect from the hill he must view it only occasionally; if his constant residence were on the hill the view would be so common as to lose all its charm." His enjoyment of other scenes within easy reach from "Whitehall" appears more than once in the pages of *Alciphron.* Let one citation, from the beginning of the "Second Dialogue," recall his surroundings: "After breakfast, we went down to a beach about half a mile off; where we walked on the smooth sand with the ocean on one hand, and on the other wild broken rocks, intermixed with shady trees and springs of water, till the sun began to be uneasy. We then withdrew into a hollow glade, between two rocks."

It was a long half-mile from "Whitehall" to the Sachuest beaches, here rendered doubly recognizable by the obvious reference to the adjoining "Hanging Rocks," a strange formation suggesting the open jaws of some gigantic beast, beyond the proportions of a "hollow glade," yet reputed, with the confirmation of the enduring name "Bishop Berkeley's Seat," to be the very spot on which parts of *Alciphron* were written.

It was not only with nature that Berkeley could commune to his satisfaction. Congenial human society was close at hand. In Newport, besides Honeyman of Trinity Church, there were Nathaniel Kay, a generous benefactor, Colonel Daniel Updike, and others of an intellectual bent, who, under the stimulus of Berkeley's influence, founded in 1730 the Literary and Philosophical Society through which the admirable Redwood Library and Athenæum of Newport came into being, even as the Boston Athenæum was later to owe its origin to a local "Anthology Society." Beyond Conanicut Island across the bay was the Reverend James MacSparran, representing in the Narragansett country the same "Society with the Long Name" which had sent Honeyman to Newport. Still farther away was the Reverend Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut, with whom Berkeley's relations became the most intimate of all.

Samuel Johnson, yet to become the first president of King's (later Columbia) College, was a graduate of Yale. It was through his intimacy with Berkeley that Yale came to mean so much to the "Irish Plato," the visiting dean. The fact that Johnson and other graduates of Yale in the Congregational ministry had sought and obtained ordination in the Church of England won for the Connecticut college a place in Berkeley's eyes above that of Harvard. Yale, he felt, was doing more of what he had hoped for the Bermuda College of his dreams. He had brought some two thousand books with him from England, and when he left Newport he entrusted a box of them to Nathaniel Kay for distribution among the students at Yale. This was but the beginning, for soon after returning to England he sent nearly a thousand volumes to the Yale Library. He had seen the Harvard Library just before sailing for home, and, partly perhaps because he found it less in need of enrichment than the library at New Haven, he despatched from England a smaller consignment of books to Cambridge. These, unhappily, were all destroyed when Harvard Hall was burned in 1764.

But books were by no means the only gift to Yale springing from Berkeley's friendship with Johnson. The college received also the title to his "Whitehall" property, from the income of which a long succession of "Berkeley Scholars" has profited. This title is still held by Yale University, which in 1897 committed the use of the place, under a long lease, to the Colonial Dames of America, which maintains it as a Berkeley shrine. With a fine confidence in the future, the lease was made to cover 999 years. The house, redeemed from the decay into which it had fallen, is now furnished precisely as it might have been in Berkeley's time, and on its walls hang contemporaneous prints of his less famous American and more famous English friends.

At Newport Berkeley often preached in Trinity, to congregations containing many besides Anglicans. The simplicity of his clothing recommended him even to the Quakers, and all must have welcomed his urging upon the Anglican clergy of New England a more sympathetic attitude towards Dissenters.

And where was the Bermuda Project? Never carried out, by reason in large measure of the British government's failure to provide the promised endowment of twenty thousand pounds. Berkeley, thus discouraged, returned to England on September 21, 1731, from Boston, where Smibert, in the course of the twelve preceding days, painted the picture of Berkeley and his seven Newport companions, ranging from Smibert himself to an infant child, which is now yet another precious possession of Yale University.

Returned to his native Ireland the Dean of Derry became the Bishop of Cloyne, occupied himself with good works, and produced a considerable treatise, *Siris*, proclaiming tar-water a panacea for many physical and other ills of the human race. This is far less a matter of present concern than the visible tokens of his influence in America—especially in the field of education. At Newport there has been a Cloyne School for boys. The Gothic tower of St. George's School, visible from "Whitehall," reared its head nearly two hundred years after Berkeley's stay in Newport, yet one may imagine what pleasure his Anglican eyes would have taken in foreseeing it. The also neighboring Episcopal church of St. Columba, with its graveyard of a singular English beauty, is called the "Berkeley Memorial." The organ he gave to Trinity Church in Newport is represented there in portions of the existing instrument. As if the benefactions to Yale already mentioned were not enough, one of its sumptuous new buildings perpetuates the name of Berkeley. Also at New Haven stands the Berkeley Divinity School of the Episcopal Church. The late Dr. Benjamin Rand of Harvard, besides enumerating most of these points, declares that both Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania, under their original names, were established on principles derived from Berkeley.

Of all that he ever wrote nothing is more familiar than the four lines:

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
  The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
  Time's noblest offspring is the last.

What could be more fitting than that the habitation of the great western University of California, at the farthest possible continental remove from the "Whitehall" of Rhode Island, has Berkeley for its name?

ADAMSES AT QUINCY

It must have been that I read the *Autobiography* of Charles Francis Adams, published in 1916, before reading *The Education of Henry Adams,* published in 1918. On the flyleaf of that second book I find that I wrote, no doubt immediately upon reading it, the following lines, applying perhaps more accurately to the first of these two books than to the second:

In Adam's fall
We sinned all,
And ever since that maladroit beginning
Against the Adamses the world's been sinning.

Through all the merits of each of these autobiographies—and the merits of *The Education* place it in the front rank of American works of its kind—there is a pervading sense of grievance against the general order of things surrounding the two brothers. Though it cannot escape a reader's notice that each of them found a liberal share of enjoyments and rewards in his life, each records a series of mistakes, failures, and disappointments. Their younger brother, Brooks, abstained from autobiography, but his writings in other fields suggest a kindred sense of discouragement. When the First World War was beginning, in 1914, I remember asking him, as we were all asking one another, how long he thought it would last. "Oh," he replied, "allowing for temporary truces, I should say about thirty years." In the 1940's I remember also noting how accurately this characteristic prophecy had been fulfilled.

These three and their elder brother, John Quincy, were the last of the Adamses, in the fourth generation from the first President of the name, actually to live, either in boyhood or in maturity, in what their family called "the Old House." Since it was given in 1946 with all its contents—personal, historical, American, European—to the United States government which now maintains it generously, through the National Park Service, as a shrine, it has been called "the Adams Mansion." Only one of the brothers, Charles Francis, had much to do with practical affairs, yet this did not exclude him from the brotherhood of scholarship and writing. An equal vigor in the written and the spoken word was a recognizable Adams trait. It has even been told that a younger member of the family, sitting directly in front of President Eliot, more than fifty years ago at a football game in Cambridge, was urging a Harvard player, with imprecations then unprintable, to run his damnedest for a touchdown, and thus provoked the deep-voiced Eliot to exclaim, "Spoken like a true Adams!" Joined with the sense of grievance which both Presidents of the name brought back to Quincy from Washington when their terms of office ended, the gift of vigorous utterance may well have been transmitted, though in altered terms, to the generations that followed.

In any survey of historic houses and their occupants, each house is generally found to derive its importance from its association with one person. The Adams house at Quincy stands alone in having sheltered distinguished persons of the same name in four immediately successive generations. It is remarkable enough that the second and sixth Presidents of the United States, our minister to Great Britain who kept that nation from siding with the Confederacy in our Civil War, and might himself have been another president—though only of Harvard—had he so chosen, and such men of thought and action as the minister's four sons should have belonged to a single unbroken line. It is equally remarkable that all of them in turn lived in the same house. There are men of one book, and houses of one man. Such, obviously, is not the Adams Mansion at Quincy.

There is, nevertheless, an element of unity to be found in any consideration of this house. Of all private houses in America it has probably been the private house in which the greatest force of constructive thinking and writing has been generated. This may seem an extreme statement, but one can make it without fear that another house so inhabited and so remarkable for its products in the field of intellect can be named in confutation. So it must be regarded not merely as a dwelling place of men but as a house and home of thought.

The oldest portion of the house was built in 1731 by Major Leonard Vassall, of a prosperous Tory family with a fortune based on trade between Boston and the West Indies. The lines of Dr. Holmes in "The Cambridge Churchyard,"

There stand the Goblet and the Sun,
What need of more beside?

recall the shameless pun of the Vassall family crest, a Vase and Sol. In 1787, John Adams, then serving as our first envoy to the Court of St. James's, acquired the house from Leonard Vassall Borland, a grandson of its builder. When his wife Abigail returned from London in 1788, fresh from the ample dwelling-places of France and England, she was appalled by the smallness of their new abode, and wrote to her daughter, "In height and breadth it feels like a wren's house." She advised this daughter, who had married a secretary of Washington's in the Revolution, to wear no feathers—"and let Colonel Smith come without heels to his shoes, or he will not be able to walk upright."

John Adams named the house "Peacefield," through memory of his peace-treaty labors in Paris before going to London, but his immediate occupations in America, first as Vice-President and then as President, removed him from Quincy for large portions of every year, until his presidency came to an end in 1801. From that time until his death in 1826 he lived in the Old House. As early as 1800 he had satisfied his wife's desire for more space by building, at the opposite end of the house from the room Major Vassall had paneled with San Domingo mahogany, the so-called "Long Room" on the ground floor and his own spacious study above it. In successive generations further extensions have been made. The "wren's house" has become indeed a mansion. In its rear the ample garden, with its box-lined paths, is maintained in the very form devised by Major Vassall.

In the published writings of John Adams, the letters he wrote from the Old House testify especially to the activity of the mind of its master. When his son John Quincy, at eighteen, was on the point of returning from Europe in 1785 to enter Harvard, a letter from John Adams to Professor Benjamin Waterhouse suggested the quality of mental equipment with which the father undertook to provide the son. After relating the young man's own achievements in the humanities, especially Latin and Greek, he wrote: "In the Course of the last year, instead of playing Cards like the fashionable world, I have spent my Evenings with him." These evenings were devoted to mathematics and the sciences, from Euclid in Latin to "the Methods of Fluxions and infinite Series of Sir Isaac Newton." He hoped his son would be "on his guard against those Airs of Superiority among the Scholars" to which "his manifest Superiority" might entitle him. After this parental preparation it is no wonder that John Quincy Adams, both as President and as member of Congress, could employ the resources of a keen intellect trained in many fields, including those of science, far beyond the accepted limits of Americans in public office.

On his father's death, in the year after his own presidency began, John Quincy Adams came into possession of the Old House. His duties in the White House and then in the House of Representatives, on the floor of which he was struck by death in 1848, prevented his constant occupancy of the house at Quincy. His affections for it and for his mother, Abigail Adams, who gave him the name of her grandfather, John Quincy, were intimately blended. The warmth of heart and keenness of mind revealed in her letters are widely known. "While she lived," this son of hers wrote, after her death, "whenever I returned to the paternal roof I felt as if the joys and charms of childhood returned to make me happy; all was kindness and affection." According to his grandson Brooks, his love and veneration for his mother "even passed the adoration of Catholics for the Virgin." When doubts of his own immortality assailed him before his death, it was the memory of his mother, again according to his realistic grandson, that presented an obstacle to renouncing his own faith in a future life which he could not surmount. He is reported to have made a habit of reading five chapters of the Bible every morning, and repeating every night of his life the prayer, "Now I lay me down to sleep," taught him in infancy by his mother. If this be true, the influence of an Adams mother must surely be placed beside that of the Adams fathers.

From John Quincy Adams the Old House passed in 1848 to his only son, Charles Francis Adams. His marriage to a daughter of Peter Chardon Brooks, reputed the richest man in New England, contributed to the freedom, such as each of his four sons also enjoyed, to serve his time in his own way. It was a way, for him, that led to great advantage to his country, through his work as minister to Great Britain through our Civil War and afterwards at Geneva at the arbitration of claims against England growing out of that war.

His winter home was in Boston, but to Quincy he resorted for long summers, to the great relief and delight of his four sons. There, before his most important public work began, he edited the works of his grandfather, John Adams, in ten volumes, and, in 1870, built the Stone Library, separate from the Mansion, for the books that overflowed the house. Even now, with some thousands of John Adams's books in the Boston Public Library, and other thousands of John Quincy Adams's in the Boston Athenæum, the house is by no means bare of them, and the Stone Library holds still other thousands, including all the writings of four generations of the family. If any physical token could indicate the extent to which this Quincy dwelling house has been a working place for the mind, those facts about the books would provide it.

Of the four sons of Charles Francis Adams, John Quincy and Charles Francis lived in the house only as boys. In manhood each had a large country place of his own in Quincy, and devoted himself in many ways to the interests of the town. John Quincy was not a writer of books, but a person of uncommon ability and charm, with an independence of spirit which caused him to break away from the Republican Party after the Civil War and to lead the unpopular Democratic cause in Massachusetts when it stood no chance at the polls. Cleveland offered him the post of Secretary of the Navy (later held by his son Charles Francis Adams), but his health had begun to fail and he declined it.

Of the three writing brothers, Charles Francis, Henry, and Brooks, Charles Francis, in spite of his preoccupation with business, as president of the Union Pacific Railroad and the Kansas City stockyards, wrote prolifically on many subjects—railroads, education, politics, and history relating especially to Massachusetts. As President of the Massachusetts Historical Society for twenty years he served the cause of historical writing in his time to an extraordinary degree. When he read the dictum of James Russell Lowell, in his *Letters*, edited by Charles Eliot Norton, that "the Adamses have a genius for saying even a gracious thing in an ungracious way," he spoke to Norton of his keen satisfaction in the passage, and his sincere gladness that it had not been omitted. Norton showed "unconcealed embarrassment," but Adams, in his *Autobiography*, pronounced the dictum "so keen and true!"

Such acceptance of fact, or what passed for it, was a family characteristic. Henry Adams was in the prime of middle life when he spent several summers in the Old House and there worked on his *History of the United States During the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, in nine volumes, which fixed his high place among American historians. His more popularly read single volumes, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* and *The Education of Henry Adams*, were the products of his increasingly self-scrutinizing years, and, especially in *The Education,* his appraisals of his own limitations were at their height. The detachment with which he could look upon himself and his world was further illustrated in the letters abundantly published since his death.

His brother Brooks, youngest of the four, made the house his summer residence for several decades before his death in 1927. Here much of his own writing, a blend of history, economics, and philosophy, was done. Like his brother Henry, he suffered no inhibitions in self-appraisal—even recording in print his warning to his future wife that, in view of his extreme eccentricity, her marriage with him must be undertaken on her own responsibility and at her own risk. The risk proved well worth taking.

Presumably in the "Old House" he wrote the address delivered at the 275th Anniversary of the First Parish Church, Quincy, on October 11, 1914. Near its beginning he admitted a suspicion that he was "not in sympathy with the easy optimism" of most of his countrymen. He went on to confess that in his opinion "no society like anything which we or our ancestors have known, can cohere without a faith in revealed religion"; and finally he declared, "Lord I believe, help thou mine unbelief." So the eighteenth-century faith of his fathers found its twentieth-century expression.

Beyond all matters of detail the important point of this consideration of a single house and its successive occupants, fathers and sons of a single family, is that from 1787 to 1927, a span of one hundred and forty years, it has provided the setting for personalities and intellectual activities of a scope and value that set it quite apart, as suggested on an earlier page, from any other house in America.

Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760

HENRY FORBUSH HOWE[1]

THE culminating Canadian campaign of 1760 in the Seven Years' War, which resulted in the final surrender of Canada to the English, often seems in retrospect like an anticlimax. Quebec had been won from the French the year before by the brilliant victory of James Wolfe in climbing up the Anse au Foulon and defeating the Marquis de Montcalm's forces in the quick, decisive battle on the Plains of Abraham. With Quebec safely in British hands, the British fleet sailed home; England celebrated what Horace Walpole acclaimed as her "wonderful year" of 1759, and one of the decisive events in the history of the world was over. To the modern reader it is all too easy to conclude that the subsequent closing in of a ring of British forces around Montreal in 1760, and the final capitulation of that last French stronghold in Canada, was in the nature of a routine mopping-up operation, as inevitable as it was successful. The intensely dramatic quality of Wolfe's seven-hour exploit, accompanied as it was by the mortal wounding of both Wolfe and Montcalm, overshadows the tedious manoeuvres of 1760, which ended in the forced surrender of French Canada by Lévis and Vaudreuil at Montreal, without a fight.

Yet from many points of view the campaigns of 1760 were the true culmination of the war. They represented for the first time the full weight of the British effort. Wolfe had won Quebec on the Plains of Abraham with a mere four thousand men. But a year later the combined commands of Amherst and Murray and Haviland drew up before Montreal a full seventeen thousand. The battle at Quebec had been the work of a single sea-borne expedition; that at Montreal grandly demonstrated the continental strategy of William Pitt and Jeffery Amherst in converging three major expeditions, from Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario, and Quebec, respectively, in a simultaneous descent on Montreal. The fact that no battle took place was the logical result of consummate execution of a brilliant master plan.

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[1] This paper was read at the February, 1953, meeting.

Viewed in retrospect, it is very easy for modern writers to point out, as they frequently do, that the fall of Canada was the inevitable result of British attainment of supremacy on the sea. William Wood ends his book, *The Fight for Canada,* with the statement: "it was Hawke's crowning victory in the Bay of Quiberon which at last gave England her clear, unchallengeable title to the claim that Canada thenceforth belonged entirely to the overlordship of the sea." Yet at the time the events were happening, late in April of 1760, five months after Quiberon Bay, the French General Lévis had regained the Plains of Abraham from the English in the battle of Saint Foy, and could easily have retaken Quebec from British General Murray, had the topsails of ships appearing up the St. Lawrence proved to be French instead of British. It was a touch-and-go matter. Had the French squadron appeared before the British, quite a different history might have been written in 1760. George MacK. Wrong says of Amherst: "He took one great chance—that the British fleet would reach Canada before the fleet from France. Had this not happened, had the French recovered Quebec and been able to hold it, Amherst's attempt on Montreal might well have proved disastrous." Sea power did determine the issue, but only by a whisker. A French squadron did arrive, but six days too late, and it was chased up the Bay of Chaleur to its destruction, instead of defending a recaptured Quebec against the British. Sea power would doubtless have won eventually for England, but the year 1760 would not have been the perfect strategic mopping-up operation that it turned out to be.

The occasion for these remarks is the log of a Cohasset boy named Malachi James, who at the age of twenty-two served as mate aboard the Massachusetts schooner *Success,* Nathaniel Lamson, master, which took part in the 1760 campaign of General Murray on the St. Lawrence. Like many other logs found in attics, this one had been lying in an old family trunk—in Cohasset for nearly two hundred years. Through the courtesy of Miss Laura James, a collateral connection, I was permitted to examine it, and found in it an account of the schooner's part, a minor one, in the advance on Montreal. How the vessel happened to make its voyage from Philadelphia to Montreal, by way of Louisburg and Quebec, I have been unable to determine. Malachi James, himself, unquestionably got his primary seamanship training in the Cohasset fisheries, which even in those days were beginning to thrive. He had apparently shown promise, for he was sent to Boston to attend one of the little navigation schools already flourishing in that town, and thus was a capable navigator already at twenty-two. He died of yellow fever on a West Indies voyage three years later, but left us in the meantime several volumes of voyages written in account-book-style notebooks like this one.

Most of the available sources for the St. Lawrence campaigns are Canadian, English, or French. Comparatively few New England men took part in the Quebec expeditions, or at least left us records of the fact, though there are numerous Massachusetts records of the Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario expeditions. Massachusetts raised 2,500 men for these campaigns. But the St. Lawrence portion of the campaigns was fought wholly by French and British regulars, Canadian militia, and British navy and merchant seamen. There appear to have been no organized provincial units on the river. Only an occasional Massachusetts vessel, like the *Success*, was included in the English squadron as it moved inexorably up the St. Lawrence toward Montreal. We therefore may regard this log with a considerable amount of interest, since it constitutes a rather unusual primary source for the story of the campaign. Aside from minor references in the *Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, the standard Canadian histories of the campaign by G. MacK. Wrong and William Wood contain no mention of any New England sources for the campaign, and Francis Parkman refers only to one or two other incidental New England authors providing collateral information rather than original testimony. Such evidence as I have at my disposal therefore indicates that Malachi James's log is perhaps a unique original source from the Massachusetts point of view.

Young James's volume starts off with four ordinary trading voyages, two from Boston to Cape Fear, North Carolina, and return, and the other two to Philadelphia. Apart from a case of smallpox, storms, and the usual difficulties with contrary winds incident to such voyages, there is little to our present purpose to be drawn from these entries, except to remark that Malachi James seems to have been an able navigator and that he kept a good, informative log. One notes that he saw increasing numbers of "letter of mark" ships and men-of-war as the first half of the year 1759 wore on. June 7, somewhere off the New

Jersey coast, he wrote that he "heard the report of a Considerable Number of Cannon to the Southward of us," but did not see the action. Probably this represented privateer activity, in which many New York vessels participated during the war.

The schooner *Success* is nowhere described in detail, but from various internal evidences in these logs one can gather that she carried a mainsail, foresail, forestaysail, jib, flying jib, and topsails. During the fourth voyage, which was again to Cape Fear and up to Wilmington, North Carolina, Malachi wrote: "During the Night our Sqare sail Boom washt over Board," so we may conclude that one of her topsails was square rigged.

This fourth voyage was "a tedious passage of 31 days from Boston to Brunswick." On the return voyage the *Success* stopped, as usual, in Tarpaulin Cove in the Elizabeth Islands to fill the water barrels, and James reported, "Their was in Tarpoiling Cove 20 Saile of Vessails." Anyone who has been there wonders how twenty craft could crowd into that diminutive harbor of refuge. But among them, Malachi wrote that "Capt. Dimmick in a Sloop Saild for Woods Hole Bound to Louisbourgh," and others also were now in March, 1760, beginning to head down East, carrying supplies to support the Canadian campaigns. For Tarpaulin Cove and Woods Hole and Hyannis were among the last ports of call for vessels from New York or Philadelphia striking out to the Canadian harbors. The *Success* moved on to Holmes's Hole "in company with a Capt. Church in a schooner from Philadelphia bound to Hallifax, and Freeman in a Sloop from Ditto bound to Ditto." On March 27 the *Success* "Waid anchor in Highannis Road and Sett sail and stood over the Shoales in Company with 6 sail Bound to Hallifax." The *Success* herself rounded Race Point that evening and made Boston the next morning. But here is the evidence of perhaps nine vessels headed for Nova Scotia in a week, an interesting testimony of the mobilization occurring in the spring of 1760.

In April Captain Lamson and Malachi James again sailed to Philadelphia, arriving on the twenty-first. On May 8 the *Success* herself joined the parade to Canada, but her destination was Quebec, stopping at Louisburg only long enough to join a convoy. On May 12 she "come too in Holmes's Hole—Filled 4 bbls. water." Next day she "waid anchor in Holmes's Hole and Ran over the Shoales in Company with Capt. MacLain in a Sloop bound from New York to Quebeck." On

May 14 Malachi James took his departure from "Monnymoy." Monotonous head winds so delayed the *Success* that she took nine days to make Cape Sable. A week later while she was still beating up the coast toward "Cape Sambrough" she "Spoak with a sloop from Port Roseway" on May 26, who "Told us Quebeck was besieged by the French and Indians."

It was true that the French under Lévis had defeated Murray's forces at the battle of Saint Foy on April 27, and had held Quebec under siege until the fifteenth of May. General Murray, after his defeat at Saint Foy, had sent the frigate *Racehorse* to Halifax with news of his defeat, and this was the source of these gloomy tidings. The men aboard the *Success* could not yet know that already on May 16 the frigates *Lowestoft* and *Diana* and the ship of the line *Vanguard* had relieved Quebec, sunk the six French vessels accompanying Lévis's besieging army, and thus forced the French into precipitate retreat from their commanding position before Quebec.

On June first the *Success* made Cow Bay, where she took on wood and water, and then on June 4 "run up to Louisbourgh where we come too at 7 P.M. after a passage of 32 days." They lay at anchor in Louisburg for five days, occupying themselves with such matters as scraping the mast and boating three hogs ashore. On Sunday, June 8, "the Master went on Shoar to Meeting." On the tenth the wind came around into the westward and the weather cleared. The English commander aboard the ship "*Fanny Ellinor* . . . Hoisted his Ensin and fired His Signal Gun. 12 Sail of us waid and went out the Harbour under Convoy . . . bound for Quebeck." The first day out the convoy chased a ship in the offing but could not catch her. Perhaps this was one of the ships of the enterprising French privateer Le Blanc, who had been most successful around the mouth of the St. Lawrence in capturing British supply ships bound for Quebec. Through showery weather the convoy proceeded, at times scattered, but otherwise without incident, reaching Anticosti on the sixteenth and the islands of St. Barnabas and Bic, near the present Rimouski, on the twenty-first. Off Green Island on the twenty-second the commodore came alongside the *Success* and "Told us the French were Drove of from Quebeck and that they Had Taken a Great Number of Vessels in the River." Thus, at last, after five weeks, the Massachusetts men learned that their destination was not still under siege.

On June 23, while the *Success* lay at anchor between Green and Apple Islands, across the St. Lawrence from Tadoussac, the Massachusetts men "saw 3 Large Ships bound down the River." The date suggests that these ships may have been three of the five ships commanded by Captain Wallis, who was sent from Quebec to help Captain Byron's Halifax squadron attack the twenty-two-ship French convoy from Bordeaux, which had arrived too late to get up the St. Lawrence ahead of the British, and had taken refuge far up the Bay of Chaleur. Byron completed the destruction of the French convoy near Restigouche, before Captain Wallis arrived on the scene, thus preventing the French at Montreal from getting by overland routes the supplies they badly needed.

The *Success* sailed on ahead of her convoy from Green Island to Quebec. Approaching the Isle aux Coudres on June 27, Malachi James wrote: "Saw a Sloop a Sterne of us. She was a Sloop from New York, Fox Commander. He told us he Parted From the New York Fleet the Night Before. The Fleet Consisted of 12 Sail under convoy of a 40 gun Ship. He told us He saw the Remainder of our Fleet a Sterne." At noon the *Success* came "A Brest of the Island of Couder and a Longside of the Man of War. The Man of War put Pilots on Board all the Vessails except us." The schooner beat up toward the Isle of Orleans and successfully passed through the traverse on its north side in a thunderstorm, a difficult enough piece of navigation even in good weather. There was another man-of-war stationed at the easterly end of the island.

Early in the morning of the twenty-eighth the *Success* "Waid and Drifted up with the Tide as Far as the West End of the Island Orleans. Their come too—Here I Hove the Log. Found the Tide of Ebb to run 5 K." On the afternoon tide she "Towed up to Quebeck."

From June 29 to July 18, almost three weeks, the *Success* remained at anchor before Quebec. During the first two weeks the schooner's cargo was not even unloaded, and one gathers that preparations for Murray's advance on Montreal were so intense that other matters had to wait, for Malachi James wrote on July 9 that "the Fleet Sails for Moreall this Day." Captain John Knox's *Journal* placed this sailing of Murray's great fleet of eighty vessels and 2,500 troops, guarded by four men-of-war, on the fourteenth. The embarkation of baggage was completed on the twelfth, and it was on that day that the unloading of the *Success* began. No doubt escort ships moved up the river in advance of the army itself. During the two-week delay Malachi's log is enlivened by such comments as "Left Richard Welch ashore—he danced all night," and "I went A Shoar and Sold my Soap and Tobacca." Obviously Malachi was no exception to the usual seagoing men whose little side ventures in trading on their own account supplemented their meager earnings. Even in this modern day, soap and tobacco remain remunerative in such ventures! On board, the crew were kept busy "Scraping the Mast, *etc.*" They also were "Emploied Heating Turpentine and Paid the Mast," and finally "Tallowing our masts." James also keeps track of the arrival of vessels. On July 3, "Capt. ——— In a Sloop from Boston Arrived in 32 days, and a Sloop Beloning to our Sqadrant Arrived allso." Apparently the *Success* had outdistanced her convoy by four to nine days, for the next note of their arrival, on July 7, reads, "3 Sail Beloning to our Fleet Arrived this Day." Another Boston sloop, Captain French, arrived on the eighth. Also on that day "the *Lizard* Man of War Arrived from New York with a Number of Transports." This sounds like the New York convoy of twelve vessels previously mentioned.

On July 12, "Began to onload. Had 9 Battoe Loads Boated a shoar and 2 with our own boat." On the fourteenth "Had 8 Battoe Loades of Flour Boat'd a Shoar." The next day, "Finished hoisting out our Cargo." Then for three days "Emploied Boating off Ballest and Triming it in the Hole." Also, "Our Boat Brought 2 bls. of Bread and 1 of Pork From on Board Capt. English." Aside from flour there is no indication of what the *Success*'s cargo had been. A somewhat different note appears in the remark on the twelfth, "This day Their was a man hanged on board one of the Men of War for Diserting and Joining the French."

From July 19 to 26 the *Success* was used to bring a load of "board planks" from the St. Paul's River near the Isle aux Coudres for the Quebec garrison. A bateau with a lieutenant, a midshipman, and ten seamen from the man-of-war *Pembroke* at that island were assigned to help load the lumber. While in St. Paul's River, Malachi remarks that "The old Fryar Come a board and Tarried untill he was as drunk as a beast." But the chief items of interest were his comments on ship traffic. On July 21, "Capt. French in a Ship Bound to Philadelphia Got underway just as we come too." On July 25, "this Day their was 3 Sloops and 2 Brigs and 2 Schooners went up the River." On the twenty-sixth, "2 Ships, 2 Schooners come up and 1 Sloop and 1 Brig allso. From Where They Come I now not." From such remarks we can visualize the immense concentration of shipping that was used to support the coming campaign.

Back in Quebec, the *Success* went to dock to unload, where she was assisted by another detail of British seamen from one of the frigates. Even after returning to anchorage the Massachusetts men "Had the *Northumberland* Long Boat 3 Loads and the *Vanguard* Lanch 2." We may recall here that the *Vanguard* had been the ship of the line accompanying the frigates that relieved Quebec in May.

On July 31, "The *Sutherland* Man of War and 11 Sail of Transports arrived from Loisbourgh." This convoy was that commanded by Lord Rollo with two regiments of regulars, about 1,300 men, which was prepared to sail up the St. Lawrence to reinforce Murray's fleet, now pushing its way deliberately toward Montreal. To this convoy the *Success* was now attached as a troop transport. Already while at the dock a day or two before, some masons had "Built a Coobuse for the Soldjers to Cook In" aboard the schooner. Despite "Hard gales of Wind at E N E" and rain, for two days "Flat Bottom'd Boats" were "Emploied Embarking Troops and Provisions for Montreall. The Carpenters lay our Platform and Built our Bulkhead." On August 3, "at 10 p. m. the *Sutherland* Made Signaill for all Transports to way: at 6 A.M. we waid and Drifted up about 2 Leagues then come too all hands of us." Going upstream on the incoming tides and staying at anchor on the ebb, the flotilla slowly moved westward. There was some firing toward shore by the *Sutherland* on the fifth, though "a Sloop come down from Generall Murry Brought News that the french Made no resistance to our Attack." On the sixth the commodore held a conference of masters of transports. "He gave them orders for No Boat to goe a Shoar on any Pretence." On the seventh the fleet passed in review before Lord Rollo "and gave him 3 chears." The next day the fleet "Run up in Sight of the *Diana* Frigate," which again was one of the ships that had relieved Quebec's siege in May. "My Lord Rowle Made Signail for all Sergants to come on board to him. He gave orders for 500 men Exclusive of officers to Be Ready to Embark at a Moments warning."

August ninth, "at 3 A M the Troops Landed at the Littel Village against where we Ride. The Inhabitants Brought in their arms and

Took the oath of Aleagance to King George. Without any Resistance to our People. At 4 P M the troops all Embarked on Board their Respective ships." The next day they repeated the performance, and on August 11 they again landed, farther up the river. "They Brought off about 30 setts of Arms. . . . The Boats were on Shoar severall times. Brought of guns in Plenty."

On August 12 the fleet began to run into trouble with shoals. The *Wolfe* and *Joseph* and *Mournox* transports all went aground. The fleet anchored and Lord Rollo called a masters' conference. "They Received orders to send their boats up to the 3 Rivers to Sound in the channell for the Best water, and at all Shoals in the River Lave a boat at a Grapeling." After this procedure was carried out the *Success* had an accident. "Just as our anchor was to the bow Atkinson a Soldjer in Gen'l Hopson's Reg't 2nd Battalion went over the Bow to Hook the Cat Block to the Anchor Fell over-board and was never seen again. He was a Lovely Man About 30 years of Age."

"Aug. 14 a brest of the town Troie Revieres. My Lord Rowle's Ship and a Brig Run up the North Channail close aboard the Town where the Enemy Began a Very heavey Fire on them from 2 Batteryes. Wounded 2 officers and Severall Men on board My Lord's Ship. At 4 P M the fleet Entered the Lake St. Peters." On August 15 "Waid and Run Up the Lake St. Peters. at 4 P M Come too again In Sight the Passage Going out the Lake and heard great Numbers of Cannon. . . . Aug. 16 Waid and Run out the Lake and Entered the River Ozell. at 4 P M Saw Gen. Murrey's Fleet to our Great Joy. . . . Aug. 17 at 6 A M waid anchor: at 10 Do. Joined Gen. Murrey's fleet. . . . Aug. 18 This Day a Deserter come In from the french army." This is the first mention of a French regular, as contrasted with a Canadian militiaman.

An illustration of the difficulties encountered in handling so many vessels in narrow waters occurred on August 20. "Soon after we come too Capt. Tufton came fowl of us. We was obliged to Pay out our Small Bower Anchor to the Bitter End, at last let the End Goe: Tufton took it and Brought it on Board again." The loss of an anchor would of course have been a catastrophe, so far from home. On the same day, "a Party Landed to Gard the Transport Boats whilst they wooded." Firewood for cooking seems to have been rapidly consumed aboard the crowded transports.

On August 21, "At 11 A M the troops Landed on the North Side of the River. The Transport Boats wooded. at 8 P M the troops on Board us were Removed from on Board us and 100 Light Infantry Sent on Board us." Thus is described the landing on the Ile St. Ignace opposite Sorel. Sorel, on the south bank, is at the point where the Richelieu River, which constitutes the northward route from Lake Champlain, emerges into the St. Lawrence. Brigadier Haviland's British forces were fighting their way up this valley against Bougainville's Lake Champlain defenders, and Bourlamaque, in command at Sorel, now found himself caught between the jaws of a vise. General Murray was awaiting Amherst's army which was slowly approaching from the west, and up to this point the British had overcome or bypassed all effective resistance between Sorel and Quebec. The Canadians had deserted in droves, as we have seen in Malachi James's log. Murray had promised the Canadians that if they stayed in their houses, laid down their arms, and took the oath of allegiance he would not destroy their homes. But at Sorel there still existed a considerable force of Canadians bearing arms against the English. They had even fortified the Sorel church. In order to set an example, therefore, General Murray ordered Lord Rollo to burn the houses and barns of Sorel. This was done on August 22. Malachi James rather taciturnly wrote: "at 12 A M the Light Infantry landed to a Small Village Below the Fleet and Burnt houses and Barns Destroying all before them: at 10 Do. Returned to their respective Vessels." This object lesson accelerated the wholesale surrenders of the Canadian *habitants* as news of it spread up the river.

On August 26, the *Success* "sailed up to the *Porpupine* [*sic*]" and "Come too A Brest of a church about 1 League below Flat Island." After sailing all day on the twenty-seventh, "The hole fleet anchored by the East End of the Island Montreal. A Party of about 300 Light Infantry and Rangers Landed on the Island, Montreal." On the twenty-eighth, in fair weather, "at 8 A M the Troops embarked on Board their respective transports. At 12 orders for them to Land Again Under Command of Captain Mackey. The hole Company of flat Bottomed Boats Left our schooner at 1 P M with two Days provisions For the Above Troops and all other things useful for them. The french still in Motion on the other Side of the River Marching in Bodies Towards Montreal with their arms. the french fired Two Musquet Balls at us—one struck in our Quarter the other Went Between our Masts. The English on Shoar Emploied Skouting the Woods." Similarly, on the twenty-ninth, James wrote: "the hole Fleet at anchor, the Light Infantry on Shoar—the French on the other side in Continuall Motion," and on the thirtieth, "the Light Infantry and Rangers on Shoar, the French in Motion on the other side of the River." Apparently all this time the English landings were on the Montreal side of the river, and the French here spoken of were moving on the south bank. But now, on the thirtieth, a new attack was made by the British on the village of Varennes on the south bank: "Orders this afternoon For the Light Infantry and Rangers and Grannidiers to Be In Readiness to Land Under Command of Capt. Mackay the Next Morning at 2 o'-clock to the Parrish of Varrain *etc.*"

So at 2 A.M. on August 31, "the flat bottomed Boats put off from the North Shoar with Troops to attack the Parrish of Varrain. the Troops Laned Without the Loss of one though the Cannidians gave them a heavy fire. The Enemy had one Man Killed and about 30 Prisioners taken. at 8 A M the Troops Returned to the North Shoar Except 2 Companys Left to Keep the above Village. The Soildiers Brought a Vast Quantity of Plunder of Kind. at 2 P M the Cannadians attacked the English at Varan. they continued fire ½ an hour then retreated: Our People had one Man Killed and 3 wounded: the Enemy lost 3 Men that our People found Killed."

On Monday and Tuesday, September 1 and 2, there was a lull for redisposition of forces. The light infantry were "On Shoar," the "transport Boats were Emploied Boating Fachines," and the "Soildjers were in Motion from one Shoar to the other." Again, on Wednesday, "the Soildjers on Shoar Emploied preparing for Landing On the North Shoar." The *Success* "Waid and Run up Higher in the Fleet." On the fourth another village assault was made: "at 6 A M the Light Infantry Embarked on Board the Flatt Bottomed Boats to Land on the South Shoar. At 8 Do. the Hole Army Landed, the Light Infantry Marched up to a Small Village By Land Within 9 Miles of Montreal and Captulated it."

The results of these successive attacks now began to appear. On the fifth James wrote: "We saw great numbers of French come in to our people from the contry Round." In spite of this the pressure was kept on, for on the sixth "the army on the South Shore they Traviled within

4 miles of Montreal, Captulated a Village Their." The attacking forces were closing for the kill. On Sunday, September 7, Malachi wrote in his unexcited manner: "at 8 this forenoon the Army Embarked from the South Shoar to a small Island on the North Side of the River, at 2 P M the Hole Army of Gen. Mury Landed on the Island of Montreal. With all their Artilary. Gen. Johnson on the Island allso. And Amherst." No one could accuse Malachi James of being a good war correspondent! He here records for us almost as an afterthought the juncture of the three or four thousand troops under General Murray with the tremendous army of General Amherst, with its Indian allies under Sir William Johnson, numbering in all perhaps twelve thousand men!

Malachi's account of the surrender is no more loquacious, though he did permit himself what was to him probably a high point of enthusiasm. The next day his entire note in the log reads as follows: "Monday—8th This Day Fresh Winds at S. W. the fleet anchor. the Army's on the Island of Montreal. the french sent out a flag of truce to Gen. Amherst and they gave up the Garrison of Montreal without fireing a gun. So God Save King George In the Possession of this Contry."

For two days after the surrender Malachi's crew were busy taking out the "Soildjers Bagage" and "Two Days Provisions for the Com'y." These were carried in a "flatt Bottomd Boat" and a "Battoe" to "Point O Tremble for the Soildjers." The "hole fleet" then moved up to within a league of Montreal and continued for five more days to send bateau-loads of provisions into Montreal. Once unloaded, the vessels were then searched for any guns the troops might have left aboard them, and prisoners began to be embarked on a part of the fleet that James refers to as the "Castile vessailes." The *Success* was again loaded with troops, 130 of them, apparently as a guard vessel to help return the prisoners to Quebec. On September 17 the "Castile vessailes" set sail for Quebec, followed by the *Success*. The Massachusetts vessel and another schooner went aground that afternoon, and despite the help of two other vessels and two "Flatt Boats" stayed aground all night. Malachi wrote: "Waid out anchor and hove. But could not get off without heaving out all our Ballest and Provision." Not until the next afternoon were they able to rejoin their fleet.

The *Success* sailed down through the Lake St. Peter on the twenty-second, passing two grounded vessels. and anchored for an hour at

"Troy Rivers" before finally coming to three leagues below that city, "a Brest of where the *Betsey* Schooner Ran a ground and Bilgd." Following the sloop *Hawk*, the *Success* ran the rapids the next day and on September 26 landed her troops in Quebec. Then for six days she again loaded "Provision for Montreal and Bagage," and "Beef and Flour." On October 2 she "Hald Along side of the *Leopard* and took in the Remainder of our Cargo. At 4 P. M. the Pilot come on Board, waid and Run Up into Wolf's Cove. their come too Lay all night."

So the troopship now became a supply ship and retraced her leisurely course back up the peaceful St. Lawrence. Spare time was now employed quite differently. "Our Gentry went a Shoar in the *Pensante* Barge. Tarried not long." "Passengers and bagage" were landed on the eighth near the "River St. Ell." On the eleventh, near the Parish St. Andrews, Malachi wrote: "Hald our Boat on Shoar Corked and Paid the Bottom." Two days later they lay at anchor for a day. "Emploied cuting wood and Boating it on Board." Reaching Montreal on the fifteenth, in "sqawls of snow," they lay at anchor, and on the seventeenth "the Quarter Master of the 40th Reg't Come on Board Took out 6 Battoe Loads Flour and the ammunition Belonging to Capt. Mackay for the Troops." The next day he notes "the Royal Americans Discharged Capt. Dunnell this Day." Four more days were consumed in unloading cargo, and then ballast was again taken aboard for the downstream voyage.

On October 23 the *Success* left Montreal for the last time. In Lake St. Peter they saw five sloops, twelve schooners, and a brig. Reaching Quebec in only three days, the crew set about taking on provisions and more ballast. But this time seagoing tasks were emphasized: "We on Board Emploied Striking Topmast and on bending Flying jibb Riged in the Boom. . . . Emploied Slacking Masts and Ties and Preparing for Sailing." On November 1, 1760, Malachi wrote: "This Day got our Discharge at 4 P. M. Waid our best bow anchor. Lay at a single anchor all Night. Wait onely For a Fair Wind. So God Prosper us in Our Passage to Boston."

The next day the easterly winds swung around to the westward. This was welcome not only to the *Success* but to other Yankee vessels bound home, as Malachi James made clear in his log: "At 5 A M Waid anchor In Quebec harbour Bound to Boston. Likewise Capt. Newman In a Sloop to Newbery: Pattern in Ditto to Old Yourk: Homer in a sloop to Boston: Run Down to the Island of Orleans Where Lay the Following Vessailes Bound to their several homes: Viz. Tucker In a Sloop to Old Yourk—Dunnell in Do. to Do. Stapleton in Do. to Boston Hatch in Do. to Do. Brit to Boston in a Schooner and Chadwell he Did not Follow us the Reason I cant tell." Including the *Success*, here were five Boston vessels, three from York, Maine, and one from Newburyport, most of them sloops. Dunnell had got his discharge at Montreal two weeks before. Chadwell had been seen aground in Lake St. Peter six weeks before, so we may assume that a number of these New England vessels had, like the *Success*, participated in the Montreal campaign.

So in company with these provincial friends the *Success* sailed off down river, clearing Anticosti Island on November 9, and anchoring at Malladoc Island on November 12, where sails were mended and Captain Lamson and two of his men helped Captain Newman step his mast. Two more sloops and a schooner joined them there, Lobdan, Holmes, and Grove, masters. At Louisburg on November 17 the little fleet "joined company with Near 20 Sail Ships and Schrs Bound to the Westward." Two days out from Louisburg in a northeast blow, "Prince Rogers Jibbed the foresail Split Him from the Leach to the Loof, hald him Down." Cape Cod was sighted at 8 A.M. on November 25. By 2 P.M. the *Success* "Stood In With the high Land of Marshfield and takt and Stood to the N-ward." With northerly winds they could not make the "Lighthouse Channel" until ten the next morning, and so reached dock in Boston at two o'clock on the afternoon of November 26, three and a half weeks out of Quebec, and nine days out of Louisburg.

Malachi James "went to Meeting to the New North and to Diner to Mr. Holmes" on his first day ashore. The second day, "Emploied on bending our Sailes and Carried them to Mr. Greenough's Loft. Discharged all hands." For three days he "Tarried at Boston," and then "Went home By way of Hingham," which means that he went down by water, for he contrasts this with his return two weeks later when he "traveled up By Land." He was ashore only until February. He had "quited" the *Success* in November. He now signed on to the sloop *Falmouth*, Benjamin Chadwell master, probably the same Chadwell who at Quebec "Did not Follow us the Reason I cant tell" in November. Malachi kept the *Falmouth*'s log of a voyage to "Hallifax" with a cargo of beef in the same volume containing the *Success*'s Montreal voyage. To us it is interesting to learn that at Halifax he saw on April 10 "the *Sutherland*, *Fort* and *Repulse* and another Ship Saild for New York with the Transports For New York." Back in Boston on July first he notes, "Capt. Lillie From Montreal arrived this Day." During the next voyage of the *Falmouth* en route to Newfoundland only ten days later, while off Nova Scotia he "spoak with a fisherman Saw Constant Freeman from Quebec." Perhaps this was the same Freeman whom Malachi had seen bound for Halifax at Holmes's Hole in March, 1760.

The more one reads these logs of Malachi James, the more one is impressed with the fact that the Montreal voyage was only one in a long series of ordinary trading voyages made for profit. New England shipmasters took the war in their stride, as a normal part of their maritime business. The second voyage in the *Falmouth* to Newfoundland, just referred to, carried "sixty sheep" and returned with codfish. The summer of 1761 having thus been employed in down-East voyages, the *Falmouth* now set out on a West Indies voyage. Visiting in turn Antigua, Guadeloupe, and Martinique, under convoy, Captain Chadwell and Malachi James ran into difficulties with a French blockade and embargo at Martinique, which was soon lifted by the appearance of Commodore Swanton's "Squawdrant from the Grannades." Commodore Swanton was no stranger to Malachi James—he had had the use of the launch of Swanton's flagship, the *Vanguard*, in unloading lumber from the *Success* at Quebec less than two years before. So it must have been with a peculiarly friendly feeling that Malachi supervised the unloading of a deckload of lumber and a hold full of fish in the Leeward Islands, again under Commodore Swanton's protection. Yet the Yankee reticence of Malachi James would allow no mention of this in his log. One must read between the lines. Malachi never refers to the war at all in the log of his voyage from Boston to Amsterdam and return in the summer of 1762 in the Schooner *John*, Alexander Inglish, commander. Yet one notes in reading it that their course took them over the wartime route via the Shetlands and Orkneys and thence down to Amsterdam instead of accepting the risks of the English Channel. Even so they were chased by a privateer in the North Sea, but got away from her. Their cargo of sugar was exchanged at Amsterdam for iron, oil, and a variety of boxes, hampers, and baskets of merchandise.

So Malachi James returned home, and probably spent the winter in

Cohasset before sailing on the last voyage of his life, that from Boston to Monte Cristi, in what is now the Dominican Republic. Again he had made a change, to the schooner *Unity*, Mordecai Bates of Cohasset, commander. From this voyage he never returned, having succumbed to a tropical fever in the West Indies. He was buried at sea on the way home. He was only twenty-five when he died, unmarried, and with no claim to fame except for the logs he wrote. In his brief career he had recorded four coasting voyages, three voyages to Canada, two to the West Indies, and one to Europe. Yet his record of the St. Lawrence campaign of 1760, homely and fragmentary as it is, entitles him to our gratitude for an unusual and unique narrative of an important episode in American history.

What, then, is the value of this narrative? Malachi James adds little to our knowledge of the main events of the St. Lawrence campaign. Voluminous original records exist in such journals as those of Captain John Knox, Quartermaster-Sergeant Johnson, and the Comte de Malartic, and in the letters and reports of Generals Murray and Lévis, the French Governor Vaudreuil, and of such active participants as Bougainville, Bigot, and Bourlamaque. These original sources have been sedulously collected in the Archives of Canada and elsewhere, and their combined story has been well described in the works of Julian Corbett, Francis Parkman, William Wood, and G. MacK. Wrong. In broad outline the log of Malachi James simply confirms in a fragmentary way the major sources already available. It adds only a few homely human details to the mass of testimony referred to above. It cannot be considered a major contribution to the history of the fall of Canada.

There is, however, one fascinating sidelight to the Malachi James story which concerns New England history. Most of our attention in the past has been focused on the 2,500 militia which Governor Pownall raised and equipped to reinforce the armies of Brigadier Haviland on Lake Champlain and General Amherst on Lake Ontario. Our town histories are full of the records of these militia and the problems of supplying them. But here in the Malachi James log is evidence, small as it is, of a maritime aspect of the Seven Years' War that is not much emphasized. Young James saw and identified on the St. Lawrence nine vessels from Boston, Newburyport, and "Old Yourk" which took part in the Montreal campaign. Custom-house records are lacking for much of this period. One wonders whether other local sources may be found to confirm and expand our knowledge of New England participation in this St. Lawrence phase of the maritime history of the war. Massachusetts seagoing men a generation before had been the prime movers in the capture of Louisburg, only to see it lost by treaty. Wolfe had recaptured it in 1758. The procession of colonial vessels Malachi James saw headed to Nova Scotia from Tarpaulin Cove and Hyannis in 1760 suggests a larger participation of provincial shipping in both the Quebec and Montreal supply line than some of us have been aware of. It is hoped that this log may stimulate among historians further investigation of our maritime contribution to the Seven Years' War. It seems possible that here is a field of research that has not been sufficiently studied. Perhaps other logs and port records of this early period will provide further information to throw light on this interesting problem. If so, then the log of Malachi James will have served a useful purpose.

The American and Irish Revolutions

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THIS paper is an essay in comparative history, the purpose of which is to suggest that light may be thrown on the winning of American independence by comparing it to the winning of Irish independence. For in the past—with creditable exceptions—there has been a tendency to treat the American Revolution as if it were a unique event and as if no comparable disruption of the British Empire had ever taken place. For that tendency there used to be a good deal of justification. It would be far-fetched to compare Joan of Arc with George Washington, even though both of them did drive the British out of their native lands. It is true that the Irish did have a peaceable revolution in 1782 and 1783, and that they did see enough of a parallel with America to call their leader, James Caulfeild, Earl of Charlemont, "the Irish Washington." But the parallel was slight. There were resemblances in the constitutional issues raised—a member of this Society won the Pulitzer Prize for pointing them out[2]—but the end results were very different. Charlemont's Ireland never won full independence, and on January 1, 1801, became part of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." Nor can much comparison be made between our Revolution and what might be called the "Canadian Revolution" of 1837. For though "Sons of Liberty" did then shoot at Red Coats, the statesmanship of the Earl of Durham and, later on, the statesmanship of his son-in-law, the Earl of Elgin, turned Canadian energies into more loyal channels. So successful were these two noblemen that just recently Canada proclaimed Elizabeth II as "Sovereign Liege Lady over and in the Dominion of Canada," and, as this is going to press, is eagerly awaiting Her Majesty's visit to Ottawa, to open Parliament in person. Therefore, until the twentieth century dawned, we remained alone in our glory as having successfully rebelled against Britain.

But things have changed. Burma, Ireland, and Egypt are now completely independent of England and the roll of such losses can be lengthened if one chooses. Today there are comparisons to be made, if only someone will make them. Here, then, are some thoughts about the recent disruption of the British Empire, the events by which the present Republic of Ireland has become a completely independent nation. Here will be found close parallels as well as suggestive differences between what happened on this side of the Atlantic from 1750 to 1783 and what happened on the other side of the Atlantic from 1904 to 1949. In both cases rather similar proposals were made to compromise the dispute, and were rejected with similar subsequent regrets. Such in Ireland were Home Rule and Revolution; such with us were the Albany Plan and Galloway's Plan. The guerilla warfare in what the Irish euphemistically call "The Troubles" was very like the resistance of Marion and Sumter in the Southern States. In both cases wartime and post-war treatment of Loyalists had much in common. Suggestive parallels could be made between the Dail and Congress as war-time legislatures, of Michael Collins and George Washington as revolutionary generals, of the Irish Republican Army—the I.R.A.—and the Continental Army as revolutionary armies. In short, here are opportunities for seeing our Revolution as it seemed to participants by looking at it from an Irish point of view.

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[1] This paper was read at the December, 1952, meeting.

[2] Charles Howard McIlwain won the Pulitzer Prize in 1924 for his *The American Revolution* (New York, 1923).

On the other hand, and perhaps a more fruitful field for comparison, there are the dissimilarities between the two movements to examine, for from them can be learned what were the specific characteristics of each. First of all, American nationalism was largely a creation of our Revolution—the Irish Revolution was created by Irish nationalism. This is so obvious a point that it need not be labored, were it not for the importance of its implications. For example, Collins never had to fear desertion and disloyalty in his forces as Washington had to, for the very reason that almost fanatical patriotism might be expected as a matter of course in the Irish ranks.

More significant as a difference is the fact that what is here called the Irish Revolution was carefully planned. In 1904 the Sinn Fein leader, Arthur Griffith, laid down directions for gaining Ireland's independence. He wrote a series of articles in his paper, the *United Irishman*, and later published them in a book, *The Resurrection of Hungary, a Parallel for Ireland*. Then, under Sinn Fein leadership that program was carried out in the years 1919, 1920, and 1921, with the result that Arthur Griffith, in December, 1921, negotiated and signed a treaty by which an independent Ireland entered the British Commonwealth of Nations with dominion status, and with the rights and privileges of Canada. The Free State (as it was known), after Griffith's death, still followed his program, but gradually broke away from the Commonwealth, until in April, 1949, it became an independent republic. Here is a chance to look at a clear-cut, practical program, and compare it with our own less conscious efforts for separation. I believe that this rather little-known book will provide ideas which it will be valuable for American historians to examine.

Parenthetically it might be added that one reader found this book most valuable. He was Sir Nevil Macready, the English commander in Ireland during "The Troubles." He kept a copy on his desk, and found that it forewarned him as to what would happen next. His only trouble was that no one believed in his view as to the value of the book until it was too late.

As the book's title reveals, Griffith had studied the separation of Hungary from Austria and planned to adopt Hungarian methods in Ireland. He saw that the Hungarians had used a line of constitutional argument that offered not only logical consistency but also suggestions for using political pressure and certain devices for gaining support in unexpected quarters. He advanced a similar line of argument, and obtained the same three benefits. Here is his program, in Irish terms. He pointed out that in 1783 the British Parliament had passed an "irrevocable act," by which Ireland was entirely separated from Great Britain except for the fact that both islands acknowledged George III and his successors as their sovereigns. The conclusion he drew was that the Act of Union of 1800 was invalid. He was willing to acknowledge as King, Edward VII or George V, but only when ruling through an Irish Parliament and an Irish Cabinet. This was a clear-cut, logical stand. You can attack the premise, but if you ever grant that premise, the rest follows. Griffith, himself, probably did not believe it, but it made a nice talking-point which could unite under one banner all sorts of people who wanted to free Ireland. W. T. Cosgrave, when ex-Premier of the Irish Free State, wrote of this, in his life of Griffith in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "In his view no constitutional nationalist could ask for more, and no separatist could ask for less." I wonder if some of our constitutional arguments in revolutionary times were not rather similar special pleadings, as much designed to unite Americans as to convince Englishmen.

This line of argument did have its effectiveness in winning converts. For example, in 1885, it played a part in persuading Mr. Gladstone to advocate Home Rule. But, like the Hungarians whom he was copying, Griffith knew that such arguments needed backing by other forms of persuasion. So he proposed to have Sinn Fein, the political party he was founding, take over Irish local government and refuse to obey any central government but one that the Irish people had elected. Has not this an American ring to it? But Griffith took a further step which we did not take. He linked himself up with the Irish cultural movement. His party's name, Sinn Fein, came from the Erse for "Ourselves Alone." An ardent nationalist himself, he played up the cultural revival for all it was worth, so that nobody could be sure that the Gaelic League or even the Abbey Theatre was non-political. He even "tied in" Sinn Fein with local agricultural societies, till at the end the unfortunate British did not know what was a subversive organization and what was not.

But it took a long time for this infiltration to reach such a high point. At first Griffith and his followers were laughed at, and called the "Green Hungarian Band." This reaction Griffith foresaw, and warned against. He feared, and therefore attacked, what he scornfully called "Lion and Unicorn loyalty." For he knew the strength of this loyalty to the Crown. He lived in a time when the Home Rulers, under Parnell, had been willing to go to extremes to get Ireland no more status in relation to Great Britain than a Province has today, in relation to the Dominion of Canada. He also lived in a day when a promise of that status—Home Rule—gained the loyalty of the Home Rulers, to the point that William Redmond, the brother of the Home Rule leader, John Redmond, died in battle for England. He understood that the granting of a measure of self-government could lead in two directions, that of increased loyalty, and that of increased disloyalty. Therefore, his great problem was to increase disloyalty to Great Britain. It is instructive to see how he attained this end, and how he was at last able to infiltrate all Irish society with Sinn Fein sentiment.

One aid to him was those who believed that giving an inch led to going the whole way. Such helpers were Winston Churchill's father, Lord Randolph Churchill, who in 1886 went to Belfast and attacked Home Rule saying that "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right," or Arthur James Balfour, who believed in either "twenty years of resolute government," or letting Ireland go absolutely free, to leave the Commonwealth if she chose. Such honest and determined men provided adversaries against whom Griffith could rally all Ireland. Another type of aid was those who, when they yielded, did not yield quickly enough or gracefully enough. Such were the English Liberals who in 1914 did not force through Home Rule as a war measure, and by failing to do so wasted the devoted loyalty of Ireland, which, from August, 1914, to Easter, 1916, was almost wholeheartedly behind the War. Such was Lloyd George, who by his devious negotiations and contradictory promises missed the chance of gaining acceptance for Home Rule when, in 1916, the Ulster leader, Carson, and the Home Ruler, Redmond, were on the verge of coming to terms, and then missed the second opportunity of Sir Horace Plunkett's convention, which secured an amazing degree of agreement between loyalists and Home Rulers. This is mentioned to suggest that had not the Suffolk Resolves been debated before Galloway's Plan of Union was presented to the Second Continental Congress we might be joining in the coronation this June. For here is a point where a detailed study of comparative history might throw real light on a turning point in our Revolution. It is hard to decide which argument is valid. The claim that any sort of local self-government will lead to full independence seems justified by some British Imperial history, and its opposite by other parts of the same history, in Ireland as well as elsewhere. But a comparative study might show under what conditions separation is inevitable, and under what conditions it can be stopped. To this point I shall return, shortly.

Why, it may be asked, did Home Rule fail, and Sinn Fein take over, aside from English ineptness? The answer is simple. Blood was shed. Here I pause to suggest the parallel between the Easter Rebellion and the Boston Massacre. It was the heroes of the Easter Rebellion who won elections to the British Parliament for Sinn Fein, in the 1919 election. It was those heroes, De Valera at their head, who stayed out of the British Parliament and, as Griffith had planned, sat in Dublin as an Irish Parliament, or Dail. It was the Dail that, like our Congress, declared its independence, set up what has been called the "Invisible Republic," that resistance organization under Michael Collins which ruled half of Ireland so successfully that the British finally decided to stop fighting and come to terms. Had it not been for the revulsion of Irish feeling caused by the executions after the Easter

Rebellion, Irish loyalty might have remained as strong as it was at the start of the war.

Here comes another point worth noticing. The terms Ireland got from Great Britain required her to reënter the British Commonwealth. This Griffith was willing to do. He, and others who had declared Ireland's independence, now swore oaths of allegiance to King George V. More than that, they shot down Irishmen who would not swear such oaths, or executed them if they captured them. Thus did Erskine Childers die. Here comes another parallel to our history. Would reunion have been possible in 1780, if Arnold had turned West Point over? Would reunion have been possible in 1781 had De Grasse been beaten off the capes of the Chesapeake—as he very nearly was—the way he was beaten in the West Indies in 1782? Would we have made the same deal with the British that Griffith made with Lloyd George, and "undeclared" our independence as he did? Perhaps Lord North's Renunciatory Act of 1778 was not so belated a proposal as it now looks, nor Lord Carlisle's mission so hopeless as it is usually thought to be.

Again, would such an agreement to re-unite have worked? In 1948 Ireland did re-declare her independence. Would we *mutatis mutandis* have done the same? Here Irish history offers an answer. In 1918 Eamon de Valera refused to "undeclare" Irish independence, and started the second Civil War, which the Irish themselves—Collins and Cosgrave at the head of the Free State—put down. But De Valera would have sworn an oath if he had been allowed to vary its terms. Now in 1947 India stayed in the Commonwealth, by virtue of being allowed to use almost exactly the terms De Valera asked for, and so far has remained in the Commonwealth. Might not a little more flexibility have kept Ireland in line? It does seem that Sir Henry Clinton was not too wildly wrong when he kept on hoping to bring America into the fold till the very last moment. It would have been difficult, but perhaps not beyond the bounds of possibility.

Now this paper has dealt largely with "iffy" questions. The use of them should be justified. It appears to be this. History is the story of men's choices, and therefore is a study of whether it was possible in this or that case to make a choice. To use John Buchan's phrase, historians try to distinguish between the Causal and the Casual, between the times when men make decisions and the times when decisions are made for men by inevitable forces. It is by asking these "iffy" questions that we can find out which events were inevitable, which man-made.

Learning and Liquor at Harvard College 1792-1846

CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS[1]

THIS paper is a footnote to Samuel Eliot Morison's *Three Centuries of Harvard.* I think it should go at the foot of page 182. Yet it might rise to the stature of an appendix, if we can add a moral to adorn this tale of the relations between the Porcellian Club and the Phi Beta Kappa during the era from 1792 to 1846, and the effect of those relations upon the Harvard chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa.

These dates were not chosen arbitrarily, or even for the sake of convenience. They are forced upon us by history. The Porcellian Club was founded in 1791, the twin of this Society, though hardly an identical twin. In 1846 the committee on arrangements of the Phi Beta Kappa omitted to provide wine at its annual dinner, and this dispensation was made permanent in the following year, when the club voted to exclude the use of wine and all spirituous liquors at its festivities. A hundred years later, Samuel Cross and I moved, and obtained, the repeal of this unfortunate resolution. The brethren are now again served liquor at their festivities in December and June, though it be but sherry or cocktails, and not Madeira—at a dollar a bottle.

Let us start with a brief description of the Porcellian Club as it was when it was founded in 1791, though this is scarcely necessary, for the Porcellian Club can safely be taken as a constant in historical calculations. There is no reason to doubt that it was the same in that yesterday of the first half of the nineteenth century as we know it now in the middle of the twentieth. But the testimony of an eyewitness is always acceptable.

Amos Kent was a member of the Class of 1795. He was one of the original members of the Porcellian Club, and he was present at the supper of roast pig at which the Porcellian was founded. Here is his own account, in a letter to his brother a few years later, in 1799.

> I must beg pardon, my dear brother, for neglecting to answer yours of the 5th of June until this time. Absence from my office and business when at home

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[1] This paper was read at the November, 1951, meeting.

> have hitherto prevented me. You tell me you have lately been invited to become a member of the porcelian, or pig club and request my opinion of it, and whether it would be eligible to join it. The history of the club is short and I will endeavor to give you a short sketch of it. About two years before I graduated a number of persons were dining together on saturday afternoon, at a public house then kept by a Mr Moore. After the bottle had circulated pretty lively a few hours, it was proposed, that there should be another meeting of the same persons, at the same place, to dine upon the same kind of food, which was roast pig, in a month from that time. It was immediately agreed to, nemine contradicente, and another meeting was accordingly held. At this second meeting, it appears some of the persons had thought of establishing a convivial club, for the purposes of eating and drinking, and when the glass had been round sufficiently often it was proposed; every one present instantly joined heartily in the measure and a constitution and some few laws were soon after drawn up, by a committee chosen for the purpose. Additional members were invited by permission of the club and the society was thus established. The professed object of the club, so long as I was a member of it was enjoyment, and that kind of enjoyment to be derived from eating and drinking was the principal. It is pretended you know in all such cases, that the company of our friends is the principal inducement to such meetings. I have been led however to doubt the truth of such a pretension, since I have seldom, at college, found a number of friends much delighted with each other, for any length of time, without the aid of the bottle. It is undoubtedly, very proper that wine should be introduced on such occasions, as it adds much to conviviality and to the sprightliness of conversation, it unbends the mind from labor, and gives it the same relaxation which rest does to the labourer's body. What I would warn you against, in such cases, is excess, never suffer yourself in any case whatever to drink so deeply as to loose [*sic*] your reason in any degree whatever. I was perhaps, particularly fortunate, in this respect through the whole of my college life, tho' I must confess it was more [owing] to the strength of my head, than to any restraining power or to any prudential motives. . . .
>
> In giving you the history of the pig club I have considerably digressed, I will however return to the subject. You ask me whether it would be desirable to join it. My opinion is this of all college societies. The society itself is not to be so much considered, as the persons who belong to the society. I would advise you to join every one to which you are invited, where the persons belonging to it are such as you would be pleased to associate with, I would join no other.[2]

Joseph McKean, the founder of the Porcellian Club, as an undergraduate, was a member of the Class of 1794. This Society has a description of him as a student. So far as I know, it has never been printed, or indeed known to anybody who has not read the manuscript journal of Dr. John Pierce, a friend of McKean. We can scrape an acquaintance with Dr. Pierce by his marble bust downstairs in the Special Libraries

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[2] Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions*, x (1904–1906), 250–251.

Room, but there are three paragraphs in his journal which bring us much closer than any marble bust could to the Joseph McKean who founded the Porcellian Club, as Amos Kent must have remembered him at this first supper on roast pig. Dr. Pierce wrote:

> At the university he had the reputation of a vigorous mind and respectable attainments in the various studies, which occupied his attention, holding rank, as a scholar, next to Perkins and Channing.
>
> His volatility often led him into youthful excesses; but so artful was he in his dissipation, that he generally escaped the discipline of the laws. He occasioned the Government of the University much trouble; though he never subjected himself to any of the principal College censures. . . .
>
> Dr. McKean was a little above the middle height, of a very dark complexion, coal black hair, and uncommonly penetrating black eyes. The *tout ensemble* of his countenance was unique. He had fine powers of conversation, of which he was apt to assume more, than his due share. At times, there was a strangeness in his appearance, which bordered on insanity.[3]

Joseph McKean was the grand marshal of the Porcellian Club from 1794 to 1798. He became pastor of the First Parish in Milton. He was, moreover, a member of this Society. He succeeded John Quincy Adams as Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, and so became the predecessor of several distinguished men. In 1807 he was elected president of the Phi Beta Kappa. He did not lose touch with the Porcellian, for he attended its annual supper in 1805. There is certainly nothing surprising either in Joseph McKean belonging to both societies, or even in becoming, later, the graduate head of both. But it is a little surprising to find that during the fifty odd years from the founding of the Porcellian Club to the fateful year 1846—DeVoto calls it the "Year of Decision"—the two societies had so many members in common.

This calls for statistics. In the years 1792 to 1846, 27 per cent of the undergraduate members of the Phi Beta Kappa belonged also to the Porcellian Club. This figure may be a little higher than the fact, but not by very much. The honorary members of the Phi Beta Kappa, who were not members when they were undergraduates have not been counted; they are known only for the years since 1825, as distinguished from the "immediate" members. However, if we assume that the number of honorary members who also belonged to the Porcellian was no more before 1825 than it was after, the 27 per cent is not much reduced. It is at least 25 per cent.

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[3] Manuscript Memoirs of Dr. John Pierce, III. 47–48 and 55.

Percentages and ratios alone can be deceptive. Let us turn to numbers. The "immediate" members of the Phi Beta Kappa were sixteen. A vote on August 28, 1834, states "that it is very desirable that the number of sixteen from each class, a number fixed by long usage, should in no case be exceeded in choosing immediate members."[4] The Porcellian was about the same size. Its "immediate" members averaged about fourteen in each class. Of the sixteen immediate members of the Phi Beta Kappa in each class, more than four were at the same time brothers Porcellian as well as brothers of the Phi Beta Kappa. The solidarity of the two societies becomes even clearer if we look at the undergraduate officers. The chief undergraduate officer of the Phi Beta Kappa was the recording secretary. In the forty-four years beginning with 1803 and ending with our year of 1846, twenty, nearly a half, of its recording secretaries belonged to the Porcellian Club. And in the seven years, 1812-1818, all its recording secretaries belonged to the Porcellian.

But 1846, as has been said, was a year of decision. In that year, the committee on arrangements for the annual dinner of the Phi Beta Kappa, which in those days was held toward the end of August, omitted to provide wine, and at the dinner a committee was appointed to report on the subject for the future. It made its report, and the next year the society voted to exclude wine and spirituous liquors from its dinners thereafter. We do not know how this committee voted, and not enough is known about its five members to enable one even to hazard a guess as to whether there was controversy or dissent. Four of the five were members of this Society, but this is not significant either way. Three of the five were Porcellian, Theophilus Parsons, Edmund Quincy, and Dr. O. W. Holmes. The two who were not were Benjamin Apthorp Gould and Alexander Young. Moreover, the committee was appointed on Quincy's motion. What is one to think?

Now see what happened. Up to 1847, a good quarter of the membership of the Phi Beta Kappa had been Porcellian. During the succeeding fifteen years up to the Civil War—to take a convenient date—

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[4] Catalogue of the Phi Beta Kappa of 1933, which contains extracts from the records by William Coolidge Lane, 157.

of the "immediate" members of the Phi Beta Kappa, again omitting honorary members elected after graduation, there were only seven, an average of only about one-half of one Porcellian in each class. And the change was abrupt. In the Class of 1847 there was only one Porcellian; in 1848, one; in 1849, 1850, 1851, none; one more in 1852; none in 1853 or 1854; two in 1855, but none for the next three years. John C. Gray in 1859 and Judge Holmes were members of both in 1861. That is all. Plainly the Phi Beta Kappa Society had suddenly ceased to be an appropriate place for any but the most intellectual Porcellians.

Have we any reason, other than this infusion of Porcellians, to think that philosophy may not have been the sole governor of life for the Harvard chapter of the society in the first part of the nineteenth century? Yes, from two sources, the records of the chapter and the manuscript memoirs of Dr. John Pierce bequeathed by him to the Massachusetts Historical Society. It may be that we should discount what Dr. Pierce reports. Possibly, in spite of the fact that he was a friend of Joseph McKean as well as his admirer, Dr. Pierce was something of a crusty old curmudgeon. Anyhow, he went regularly to the annual Phi Beta Kappa dinners, until the dinner in 1806 at Porter's Tavern, where he dined with thirty of the brethren. On his return home from that dinner he wrote in his journal, "Such was the extravagance exhibited in giving $70 for the theatrical musicians, who were a nuisance, and in paying for 25 dinners, which were not eaten, that I now feel resolved never to dine with the society again. Expense to each one was $5.70."[5] This was a lot of money, at that time, even excluding the dinners for the twenty-five who were not there, the price was $4.85 a head. The total cost was $171. Porter's had been charging only a dollar for the dinner. Subtracting $25 for the dinners not eaten and $70 for the musicians, we get $71, or $2.50 a head. We may, I think, compare the cost of two annual dinners of the Porcellian Club, though they were some years earlier. In 1797 they cost $2.52 a head, and in 1798, $3.50.

The next year Dr. Pierce wrote, "Instead of dining with the Society, where there is commonly a great deal of extravagance, I invited a few friends, who dined with me at Brookline."[6] But the charms of the society were too much for him. After absenting himself from the felicities of its dinners for many years, he returned in 1841. But again he was "revolted at the quantities of wine drunk, among others by clergymen"; and in 1844, just before these felicities ceased for ever, Dr. Pierce was "aggrieved at the quantity of wine drunk and was nauseated by the tobacco so freely smoked."

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[5] Pierce, Manuscript Journal (August 28, 1806), I. 27.

[6] *Ibid.* (August 27, 1807), I. 78.

The truth is, the society offered a great deal to many different kinds of taste. In 1836, Dr. Pierce says that Dr. Holmes "del'd a beautiful poem of 1 hour and 10 minutes, committed to memory, and uttered with charming ease and propriety." In 1837, as we know, Emerson did not read but spoke "The American Scholar," which, Dr. Pierce says, "was to me in the misty, dreamy, unintelligible style of Swedenborg." And at the dinner when he was so aggrieved at the quantity of wine drunk, and nauseated by the tobacco smoke, the Reverend George Putnam spoke "on the importance of moral culture and religious faith to the life and perfection of genius. He illustrated his subject with great beauty and effect by appealing to the failure of such men as Voltaire, Goethe, Byron, and Burns to gain permanent and universal respect."

So much for Dr. Pierce's testimony. Let us turn to the records of the society. The immediate undergraduate members met fortnightly at Porter's Tavern, where, as their records report, they circulated "the social glass free from the sediment of care," and "after having liberally indulged in the pleasures usual on the occasion, dissolved."[7] But we have some particulars. "Mr. Porter would provide a good dinner at one dollar for each member, that the price of his wine would be Madeira $1 per bottle, Lisbon and Sherry 50 cents, and Port 66⅔ cents."[8] This was in 1801. If the brethren were then as extravagant as Dr. Pierce found they were five years later, a good deal must have been spent on wine. A dollar out of the $2.50 for dinner leaves $1.50 for wine. This would be enough to pay for a bottle and a half of Madeira, at a dollar a bottle, or over two bottles of Port or three bottles of Sherry. Or suppose the society sang their own songs and were no more extravagant than the Porcellian Club had been three years before, in 1798, when its dinner cost $3.50. This would leave two dollars and a half for wine, say two bottles of Madeira and a bottle of Sherry, or three bottles of Port and a bottle of Sherry. Small bottles, I take it—but even so.

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[7] Phi Beta Kappa, Catalogue, 123 and 132. [8] *Ibid.*, 144.

There is another piece of evidence of greater social significance even than wine. This is the fact that the "immediate" members of the Phi Beta Kappa did the electing, and that one black ball excluded. You could be elected only by "a unanimous concurrence of all the members by Ballot."[9] In 1831 there was an attempt to allow election by only three quarters, and it was so voted at a special meeting in August, 1831. But this vote was reversed at the annual meeting on September 1, and a committee of nine appointed. There is no record that it ever made any report. Moreover, in 1834 the "immediate" members asked the general meeting of the society whether they "were obliged to nominate, before others, those who according to the system of the College were the first sixteen" in the class. They were told that they were not, "that the decision of the rank of each individual should be left with the 'immediate' members, who are to form their own opinion, but that it be recommended to them, that the government scale of rank should be an important element in the formation of that opinion."[10] This, I regret to say, is no longer the rule of the chapter.

How important the "immediate" members regarded rank, "according to the system of the College," could of course be ascertained from the rank list, but the point I want to make is that election was "left with the immediates, who are to form their own opinion," and this is as it must be in any undergraduate club which is set firmly on the basis of congeniality. The college ranking has not been examined in order to compare it with the ranking of the "immediates." We know, however, that this method of election had long been a cause for complaint among the undergraduates who were not elected. There is an illuminating passage in Quincy's *History of Harvard.*

> This society took an early and a deep root in the University; its exercises became public, and admittance into it an object of ambition; but the "discrimination," which its selection of members made among students, became an early subject of question and discontent. In October, 1789, a committee of the Overseers, of which John Hancock was chairman, reported to that board, "that there is an institution in the University, with the nature of which the Government is not acquainted, which tends to make a discrimination among the students," and submitted to the board "the propriety of inquiring into its nature and design." The

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[9] *Ibid.*, 95.

[10] *Ibid.*, 157.

subject occasioned considerable debate, and a petition, of the nature of a complaint against the society, by a number of the members of the Senior Class, having been presented, its consideration was postponed, and it was committed; but it does not appear from the records, that any further notice was taken of the petition.[11]

So may we not infer that both the senior class and the board of overseers, as early as 1789, at the beginning of the period with which we are concerned, recognized that the society was becoming something quite different from what it turned into later—after it excluded wines and liquors from its dinners? There is also the fact that the Phi Beta Kappa was then a secret society, and remained secret until the era when anti-masonic feelings ran over into an hysteria akin to the kind with which we are now being forced to be familiar. Secrecy was abolished in 1831, after President Edward Everett wrote to Joseph Story that the society should "drop the affectation of secresy [*sic*] and all its incidents."[12] Secrecy is not so significant as the method of election, neither of them, I think, so significant as the grace of conviviality.

You will recall what A. E. Housman said at the dinner given him when he became Regius Professor at Cambridge, a chair which both Porson and Wordsworth had held before him. "This College has witnessed many strange sights. It has seen Wordsworth drunk and Porson sober. And here stand I to-night, a better poet than Porson, a greater scholar than Wordsworth, somewhat betwixt and between."

And so let us search for a moral. Is there not something which is not so much "betwixt and between" as it is something which has the dignity of an Hegelian synthesis of learning and liquor, scholarship, and sociality? Possibly we can discern, though perhaps but dimly, something different from both, with the virtues of each. Could it be that the equally "strange sight" at Harvard in the first part of the nineteenth century of the Phi Beta Kappa with an infusion of one part in four of Porcellian, was something unusual, if not unique, in education?

Consider some of the brighter stars in the galaxy of those who were fortunate enough to have profited from this admixture. I have picked out these names: William Ellery Channing, Joseph Story, Washington Allston, Jacob Bigelow, Edward Everett, William Hickling Pres-

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[11] Josiah Quincy (1772–1864), *The History of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1840), II. 397–398.

[12] *Proceedings,* Second Series, XV. 204.

cott, Caleb Cushing, Charles Francis Adams, Robert C. Winthrop, Benjamin R. Curtis, Benjamin Pierce, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, John Lothrop Motley, Richard Henry Dana, William Wetmore Story, Francis James Child, and George Martin Lane.

Just what happened in 1846? Of course, the banning of wine was not the whole reason why the relations between the Phi Beta Kappa and the Porcellian broke off abruptly. It was a symptom of something else, but what this was we shall never know.[13] The important question is the character of the society during these forty-odd years, which, as has been stated, was a synthesis of sociality and scholarship, or perhaps better, a spiritual reaction between these two common elements which produced a third, and a rare, compound. It may be that the proportions were precisely right, one part in four. However, one thing seems clear: some spirit greater and better than good fellowship and congeniality presided over the laughter and singing and drinking at those suppers at Porter's Tavern. Perhaps, even the brethren present could not have explained it to a stranger.

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[13] President Quincy resigned in 1845 and Everett succeeded him, but this change of administration should have had an opposite effect. For Quincy's relations with the undergraduate societies were bad, and Everett's tolerant and good. It would seem that what happened happened in spite of Quincy and could more easily have happened under Everett.

Major William Hathaway Forbes and Colonel John Singleton Mosby

A Chapter from the Civil War

ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER[1]

About the middle of November, 1862, the Second Massachusetts Cavalry was organized in Boston. This new regiment took some of the officers of the First Massachusetts Cavalry, and among these was Lieutenant William Hathaway Forbes who was commissioned a captain on January 1, 1863. While he was in Harvard College, Forbes, as part of his initiation to the Med. Fac.[2] tried to steal a Bible from the college chapel on the night of January 1, 1860, and he became involved in a brawl with one Hilton, the night watchman, who had been hired by the College for the express purpose of preventing the kind of thing that Forbes was trying to do. The upshot of this encounter was that the father of Forbes had to buy off Hilton, who bought what is now Fairfax Hall with the proceeds; Forbes was expelled from Harvard and, being brought to trial in Cambridge, was fined fifty dollars and costs. Ezra Ripley, a cousin of the Emersons, was the clerk of the court. Never having met the defendant and sharing in the general condemnation of the action, he had supposed him to be a lawless brawler and dissipated young reprobate; he was amazed at the gentle and respectable demeanor of the youth. One of the officers of the new Second Massachusetts Cavalry was this same Ezra Ripley. His skepticism as to the inherent worthiness of the young man who had appeared before him in unfavorable circumstances three years earlier soon gave place to warm admiration. No doubt he communicated his change of feeling to his Emerson cousins in Concord.

Some of the recruits in the regiment were hoodlums who had joined in order to receive the three-hundred-dollar bounty offered by the government, and whose conduct for a time was grossly insubordinate.

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[1] This paper was read at the December, 1951, meeting. See: Arthur S. Pier: *Forbes: Telephone Pioneer* (New York, 1953).

[2] For the Med. Fac. see: S. E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936* (Cambridge, 1936), 205–206.

On one occasion a big lout who had been ordered to the guardhouse for some offence knocked the first sergeant down and defied arrest. Hearing the commotion, Captain Forbes, himself a man of exceptional strength and quickness, rushed from his tent near by, seized the fellow by the throat, and pinned him against the guardhouse wall while the sergeant put him in irons. Such a feat was certain to impress the scholarly Ripley. It impressed young Edward Emerson so much when it was reported to him that he wrote of it years afterwards with boyish enthusiasm.

Not all the men who were difficult to handle had joined from mercenary motives. There was a contingent from California—young men who had come all the way across the continent eager for action, good horsemen, strong and fearless, but undisciplined. They rebelled at having to police the camp and at doing dirty fatigue duty. Under the firm control of Colonel Charles Lowell, the regimental commander, they were brought into line and with one exception proved themselves staunch and trustworthy.

After several months of training at Readville the Second Massachusetts Cavalry was sent to join forces assigned to the defence of Washington. The anxiety felt for the safety of the capital was out of all proportion to the strength of the enemy forces in the vicinity, yet it was warranted by the daring with which these forces were employed. The commander of these Confederate mounted troops—Rangers as they were called—was Colonel John S. Mosby. On the raids which created so much uneasiness in Washington and which cost the lives of many Union soldiers he seldom had more than 250 men. Lee commended him in dispatches more often than he did any other Confederate officer, though some Confederate generals were contemptuous of one whom they regarded as a guerrilla, and whose troops were not, in the beginning, a recognized unit of the Confederate army. After a successful raid Mosby's men ordinarily returned to their farms or usual occupations and awaited the next call from their leader. Because of the celerity with which they melted away and with which, when the moment was favorable and the summons came, they were reorganized, they were never rounded up and destroyed. The Northern armies struggling to reach Richmond were never secure with Mosby behind them. He repeatedly cut their lines of communication, destroyed supplies on which they depended, and hampered their movements. With his small and scattered forces he kept thousands of Union troops virtually inactive, merely guarding the perimeter of the capital. To capture Mosby and break up his band had been found by three Union generals, Pleasonton, Stoughton, and Stahel, a baffling task. The Second Massachusetts Cavalry, under Colonel Lowell, was eager to succeed where all others had failed.

Captain Forbes and his company were stationed on high ground about four miles north of Washington. General Heintzleman, commanding the forces guarding the city, frequently had false alarms sounded in order that the green troops might be kept on the alert for the surprise attacks which were Mosby's specialty. A passage in one of Captain Forbes's letters home suggests that these false alarms had results similar to those produced by the boy who cried "Wolf! Wolf!" too often.

> The long roll was beat last night and all the forts and troops in the vicinity, including ourselves, were turned out under arms, we saddling up and leading out. Then shortly we were ordered to lead back, being informed it was a false alarm. Fortunately as the commandant of the fort had sent word to us the night before, all the officers were aware of the coming disturbance and so displayed a commendable coolness before the men. This dose is to be repeated, they say, to-night and to-morrow night at midnight, by which time, I imagine, it will be somewhat played out.[3]

Aside from false alarms, there was noise enough in the neighborhood to make sleep difficult.

> Our tent is pitched only twelve yards from a fence enclosing a small rough farm house. On the other side of the fence is a pig sty. Other animals abound, especially dogs. About the time we are trying to go to sleep, Jack, the bulldog, and Nip and Chicken, the terriers attached to this command, commence a noisy controversy with the large canine family on the other side of the fence. The trouble extends to other houses across a neighboring road, and all the air resounds with a din of dogs quarrelling, growling, threatening, and whining in tribulation.

On June 10, in a letter to his sister, Forbes commented as an old campaigner on the zeal shown by some members of the company.

> The Californians have a healthy idea that this country is full of Secessionists, not passive sympathizers, but active and fierce depredators, who will seize favorable opportunities of shooting or capturing the unwary sentinel. They display a vigilance which it would be difficult to obtain from more experienced men, who

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[3] Pier, *Forbes*, 37.

would pay greater attention to chickens and pigs of the rebels than to their owners. Certain it is that families of hens and chickens, guinea hens and little pigs wander familiarly and unharmed on the borders of our camp, a thing quite impossible in an old regiment. "What!" said a veteran the other day, seeing a fowl walking through the camp, "do they allow hens among the soldiers?"

On June 20 Forbes received his commission as major of the Third Battalion. Three days later he wrote to his father:

You ask about our numbers. We have the California battalion, about three hundred and fifty, and my battalion, about one hundred nominally, but so poor and sickly that I can never turn out more than sixty. So you see my responsibility as Major that you fear so much is scarcely that of a Captain as yet. We have lost many by desertion, and part of my men are with Caspar.[4] We have been off on one or two small expeditions so far. In one we went up the river to Poolesville in pursuit of some guerrillas who crossed the Potomac and burned a Michigan camp. We pursued them as far as Aldie but were twenty-four hours behind them and of course could do nothing. We returned through Chantilly and the chain bridge to camp. Two days later Stuart's cavalry arrived at Aldie and Pleasonton's cavalry attacked him. The First Massachusetts was in the fight, and my old company E captured the battle flag of a Virginian regiment. Major Higginson[5] had three sabre cuts and a pistol shot, all slight. Captain Sargent had a bullet pass through him, entering at the left shoulder blade and coming out in the left breast. We heard that he was killed, but I met him to-day, walking on Pennsylvania Avenue, as bright as a dollar.

After Gettysburg the regiment moved from place to place in Virginia, making only occasional brief contacts with the elusive enemy. From Centerville on July 20 Major Forbes wrote to his sister:

A week ago last Sunday, while you were, or should have been, walking up to Church, you could have pictured us undergoing our maiden skirmish in carrying Ashby's Gap, and while Mr. Morison was airily pouring forth his solid discourse to his sleepy congregation, you could have heard shots exchanged, seen horses without riders galloping down the pass, and then the rebels taking to their hiding places through the woods and over the crest, as we gained the top.

Ten days later in another letter he expressed his feeling over the death of his cousin, Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, who had been killed while leading his regiment of Negro soldiers in the attack on Fort Wagner.

It is given to very few to die as he has in the successful accomplishment of his great work—that of proving to a reluctant and prejudiced people that the Negro is fit to be treated like a man and will fight as bravely for his freedom as his white fellow countrymen. This was to be shown, and Bob gave his life in taking them in *well* to their first great trial.

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[4] Major Caspar Crowninshield.

[5] Henry Lee Higginson.

The regiment passed the summer in a futile pursuit of the agile Mosby, whose success in breaking up wagon trains and running off horses and mules was exasperating. The attitude of the people in the small Virginia towns is suggested in a sentence from one of Major Forbes's letters: "The young belles of Poolesville and of Leesburg looked ready to bite the head off a tenpenny nail as we went through." Despite the sense of frustration that he experienced and the depressing effect of the hostile glare which attractive girls directed at him, he was able to report some pleasant aspects of his life.

> Eight or ten of the officers sing, and some of them quite well; and evening often finds us round a huge blazing log, singing old songs and learning new; the unusual variety among the officers gives a corresponding scope to our stock of songs. The Californians are men of so different experiences from ours, they bring new songs, new stories, and original ways of looking at and speaking of things. Many of them are straight from the mines and all have a habit of saying just what they mean and pretty much what they please, which is amusing and instructive. They generally prefer the black felt hat to the cap and manage somehow to look more grotesque or picturesque than other people, something in their manner and style of getting themselves up, so that seated on a log by firelight, and on the ground near the blaze we are, I flatter myself, an interesting and attractive crowd.

On September 6 Major Forbes wrote to his sister with elation:

> You well observed that Mosby was an active man. But he is so no longer, for having on an evil day for him attacked some of our men, he and three other officers were shot, and several of his men. They say he is dead. I don't know whether this is true or not. He leaves an active man behind him, however, Lt. Col. White has a battalion of guerrillas, and is at present engaged in seizing horses from the canal boats.

Unfortunately for Major Forbes, Mosby was not dead. He had been shot through the thigh, but within three weeks he was in the saddle again, capturing Union soldiers and rounding up horses and mules with his usual success and immunity.

One day one of the Californians failed to respond at roll call. Investigation quickly revealed the fact that he had deserted. A few weeks later the California squadron came upon a small detachment of Mosby's men and spied the deserter among them. Outnumbered, the Confederates scattered and fled; the Californians concentrated on their former comrade and captured him. Colonel Lowell ordered a drumhead court-martial at once and named Major Forbes to preside. The defendant's only plea was that he had fallen in love with a girl in the neighborhood and had shifted his allegiance in consequence. The death sentence was executed on a cold and cloudy Sunday morning. The whole regiment paraded and then formed along three sides of a square. Behind the coffin borne by his former messmates walked the prisoner accompanied by a chaplain and escorted by the firing party, while the band played a funeral march. In the center of the hollow square the coffin was put down. The prisoner, permitted to speak a few last words, acknowledged that he was to suffer a just punishment. "But," he said, "I want you to know that I did not desert because I didn't believe in our cause. I know it is right. And it is right that I should die for deserting it." After praying for him, the chaplain, Captain Humphreys, bound a handkerchief over his eyes and at his request asked the marksmen to aim steadily and at his heart. The condemned man shook hands with the chaplain and sat down on the foot of his coffin before the six soldiers with their carbines, five of which were loaded. It was possible for each of the six men to think that in the volley which followed the command to fire he had not killed his old comrade. The chaplain did not hold the regular service that Sunday morning. Years afterward Major Forbes, telling a friend the details of the tragic episode, said that it was the most sickening experience of his army life.

Some other things that he had to do left a bad taste in his mouth—as for example the incident described in a letter to his sister written at Falls Church, Virginia, June 5, 1864.

> A few days ago Mosby's men came to Vienna and took off two Union citizens, so I was ordered to bring in about a dozen of the most prominent secesh citizens about the country as a gentle reminder that we can take about 10 to 1 if they commence that game. One old fellow, Colonel Ham Rogers, has a beautiful place between Aldie and Middleburg. He has often seen and talked with Colonel Lowell and others of us, and felt no apprehension at our approach. I met him just opposite his house, on horseback, and we exchanged greetings. Then I remarked that I was instructed to take him into camp. He thought I was joking. As he is a most respectable, wealthy old chap and had never been troubled before, he was quite astonished when I insisted on having the pleasure

> of his company. I sent a sergeant with him to his house and told Rogers to hurry. Then, knowing he would be an age getting ready, I sent a big corporal to tell the sergeant that as soon as the column moved he should wait no longer, but if old Rogers wasn't ready to put him on horseback, with the aid of the corporal if needed, and bring him along. I waited five minutes, and then as I saw nothing of him I started. Soon the old chap was seen in charge of the grim sergeant coming along all right, but I suppose not all ready—he thought five minutes rather short notice for such a long journey. He is a sensible, jolly old buck, and made the best of it—has six sons in the rebel army and is quite a prominent citizen—no, only five; one was killed in the late battle (Wilderness). This is miserable work, stealing round in the night and taking citizens out of their beds. If we've got to be soldiers, Heaven send us a soldier's work to do, and policemen for the business we are now doing!

The Major improved his leisure moments by trying to learn to play the cornet. He became able to play a good many tunes, but he admitted that his performance on the instrument was a good deal like playing with one finger on the piano.

In the summer of 1864 Colonel Lowell determined to put an end to Mosby's activities. He himself was acting as brigadier, in command of two poorly disciplined regiments from New York as well as of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry. In order to improve the standard of his new command he sent out scouting parties composed both of trained soldiers from the Massachusetts regiment and of inexperienced New Yorkers. Major Forbes had to take one of these mixed battalions on a three-day reconnaissance through country which was the home of many of Mosby's men. Some of them professed to be Union sympathizers by day and became active guerrillas by night. Mosby had no difficulty in ascertaining the size and whereabouts of Major Forbes's force; Major Forbes had the greatest difficulty in getting accurate information concerning Mosby's movements.

On July 6 returning from Leesburg to their camp at Fairfax, Major Forbes's command halted on the Aldie turnpike to rest and eat. They unbridled their horses; some of them went down to the stream to fill their canteens. The story of what Forbes termed "my unfortunate affair with Mosby" is given in some correspondence that he had nine years later with A. P. Young, a newspaper man in Newark:

> On the evening of July 4 Colonel Lowell sent me out to remain three days in the country between Aldie and Leesburg, to report any movement eastward from the Blue Ridge of General Early's column. My force was 100 of the 2nd

> Massachusetts Cavalry and 50 of the 13th New York Cavalry—with five officers and a scout, 157 all told, as also counted by a farmer and reported to Mosby, so one of his men informed me.
>
> On the evening of the 6th Mosby, who had been lying in wait for us at Balls Mills, came across to Little River 'pike and moved to attack us, not, however, knowing our exact position, near Skinner's house a mile east of Aldie. Our pickets saw some of his men first, and we moved out and formed in a field on the south of the road. Unexpectedly we found two fences between us and the woods where Mosby formed.
>
> He opened with his field piece, which shook some recruits I had, and in trying to move round these fences and reach open ground some of our men became so unsteady that their officers could not control them. A charge was ordered by Mosby, and the men broke and could not be stopped. The pursuit was pressed, and the retreat was a rout. Captain Stone of the 2nd was mortally and Captain Schuyler of the 13th badly wounded. I think only one officer reached camp, Lieutenants Amory and Burns and myself being taken prisoners in the field where we tried to re-form the men. I cannot give you particulars of the losses, but we had about twelve killed and a number wounded, and about thirty-five enlisted men prisoners, I think. Mosby's loss was not over two or three killed and six wounded, if I am right. Mosby's men variously gave their number as 200 to 250. I think his four companies were all there. Captain Stone was wounded in a gallant attempt to rally some of his company near a church in the woods not far from where the action began.

In a second letter to Young, Forbes wrote:

> I have seen some high flown and inaccurate accounts of this and other incidents of our year's operations in Mosby's country, from Southern sources. The life he and his men led was exciting and romantic, and his work was well done, that of keeping a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry on duty in front of Washington, with his force of about 300 men! It is a pity the story should not be told by someone who could do it justice without flourish of trumpets!

So averse was Forbes to anything suggesting a flourish of trumpets that for an understanding of the manner in which he acquitted himself on the day of his defeat we have to obtain information from other sources, mainly Confederate. While he was trying to rally a few men for a countercharge after the rout Mosby's yelling troops dashed furiously among them. One of the Confederates wrote afterwards, "The battle became a hand to hand conflict, revolvers against sabres and revolvers, Mosby's men discharging their weapons into the very faces of Forbes's troopers. . . . Major Forbes occupied the centre of the action, standing in his stirrups with sabre drawn, fighting desperately."

One of Mosby's officers, Captain Richards, rode at him and snapped his pistol in his face, but it missed fire. Simultaneously Forbes, also in full career, thrust with his saber; the thrust went home to the shoulder joint; in the recoil the blade bent in an arc and springing from Forbes's hand, flew twenty feet through the air. He reached for his revolver just as Mosby himself was bearing down on him. Before he could get it out of the holster, Mosby fired. At that instant Forbes's horse tossed up his head and instead of his rider received the bullet. The horse fell dead, pinning Forbes by the leg. There was nothing for him to do but surrender. Mosby's men were in need of shoes; they appropriated those of their prisoners. Major Forbes was escorted from the field in his stocking feet. The engagement had resulted in a complete victory for Mosby. One of his men had been killed and six wounded. The Union force had suffered a loss of sixty-nine men killed, wounded, or captured—more than half of them killed—and also a hundred horses.

Seven years later Forbes met Captain Richards on a ferryboat crossing the Missouri River. Richards still had a stiff shoulder, but he no longer had as a trophy the sword that had inflicted the wound. He had stored it in a barn in the Shenandoah valley and had lost it soon afterwards when Union troops had burned the barn.

The acquaintance formed with Mosby on the battlefield ripened eventually into friendship. Forbes felt that the colonel had protected him from being ill-treated by his captors. Not long after the war was over, Mosby, who had shocked most of his old associates by becoming a Republican, visited Boston, called on his former adversary, and was introduced to his father. In May, 1878, when Forbes and his father were in Washington they called on Mosby.

> He is now rather a bent man, [Forbes wrote to his sister] stouter than when we last met, with a very clear intelligent grayish blue eye, firm straight mouth, well cut nose, and good head. He seemed very glad to see us; presently Captain Sam Chapman, one of his officers, came in, and we had quite a chat. Captain Chapman was the man who took charge of my watch at my request and returned it to me when we separated. He says that one of their men snatched a colored handkerchief out of my pocket and that I amused them very much by taking it out of his hand and putting it back in my pocket again; also by telling their men, when they asked me to show them how the Spencer carbines worked, to find out for themselves.

The reason why Forbes asked Captain Chapman to take care of his watch for him is suggested in a letter that he wrote on March 20, 1867, to Mrs. Abby Stevenson who had asked for his impressions of Mosby:

> I have received your note about Mosby. What I know of him is gathered much more from what I was doing the year we were engaged in guarding the Virginia line in front of the defences of Washington than while I was his prisoner. At that time I saw but little of him and had very few words with him. As far as I was concerned, the treatment was polite from Mosby himself and as a general thing not otherwise from his men. The wholesale robbery of prisoners was the order of the day at that period of the war, not only among Mosby's men but in the armies on both sides when there was anything worth stealing. Obliging a prisoner to walk eighty miles in July with a ball in his elbow joint, as one of my men had to do, would probably not be considered kind or considerate. But these things should not be charged entirely to Mosby. He did not choose to prohibit the habit of stealing nor to take the trouble to see whether any of his prisoners were too badly hurt to march; that was all. I should consider him cold, hard, but tolerably fair, rather than kind and considerate. I had no opportunity of judging whether his behavior was gentlemanly or the reverse. The newspaper accounts varied so much in their reports about Mosby that I hardly know which of the views you refer to. If to those reporting him as a murderer and petty robber, cruel and lawless, they are undoubtedly untrue. If to those reporting him as a courteous and polished gentleman who made captivity a pleasure to his prisoner, which aspect of the case might be accepted by the readers of some of the letters I used to see, I should say they were equally far from the truth.
>
> He was a skillful and stern partisan operator, probably with no sentimental regard for the feelings of his enemies, and his system of warfare was on the whole quite legitimate. That acts of violence quite unwarranted were repeatedly committed by the men of his band is true, but my observation was that he tried to keep his men, as before said, within the bounds of legitimate warfare.

Owing to John Forbes's influence, President Hayes in 1878 appointed Mosby consul-general at Hong Kong, a post that he held until 1885. Some time after his return to America, hearing that Mrs. William Forbes and her daughter were in San Francisco, where he was temporarily living, he called on them. As he was leaving he said, with the vanity and gallantry of the Southern cavalier, "Miss Forbes, you have done something your father was never able to do. You have captured Mosby."

In 1904, the old gentleman, then living in Washington, called on Cameron Forbes, who was about to start for the Philippines as a member of the Philippine Commission. Mosby informed him that among the Rangers his father was always known as "the fighting major." Nine years later, on visiting Washington after returning from the

Philippines, Cameron Forbes found Mosby, then over eighty years of age, impoverished and badly in need of an operation. He was able to assist him through the ordeal. After Mosby had recovered, he arranged to have the surviving Rangers of his command meet the son of "the fighting major" at Aldie. Cameron sent for three of his brothers, Ralph, Waldo, and Edward, to come to the gathering. They all spent the night at the old house of the Fairfax family, at one time the home of President Monroe, near the scene of the engagement. Only Mosby himself was absent; he had been called away by the death of his son. Fifteen Rangers took the four Forbeses over the battlefield and gave their recollections of the fight. One of them had escorted Major Forbes from the field after he had surrendered. He said, "We were willing he should ride, but he wouldn't, since we made all the other prisoners walk. He was the proudest man I ever saw."

Hampton Roads: Before and After

F. Lauriston Bullard[1]

The arrangements for the Hampton Roads "Peace Conference" were agreed upon in a series of thirty-four telegrams, some of them in cipher, covering a period of several weeks. The best remembered interchange took place, indirectly, between Jefferson Davis and Lincoln. The President of the Confederacy, through F. P. Blair, Sr., referred to "an effort . . . to secure peace between the two countries," and the President of the United States, through the same intermediary, included, in reply, an allusion to "the people of our one common country." An understanding was reached for an "informal conference." It took place on board the steamer *River Queen*, on February 3, 1865. Lincoln, in his report to Congress of February 10, stated that the meeting was of several hours' duration, that only the two Union and three Confederate representatives were present, and that no papers were exchanged or produced. The President and Secretary of State represented the Union; the Confederate representatives were Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens, Judge John A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War, and R. M. T. Hunter, a member of the Senate.[2]

The account of this meeting published in 1870 by Stephens is comprehensive and checks well with other authorities. The towering President and "Little Aleck" met as friends who had "acted together in effecting the election of General Taylor in 1848." There were introductions and pleasant greetings. The discussion was conducted on a high level of mutual consideration. The primary aim of the Southern commissioners was to gain time. Let there be an armistice, and during the suspension of hostilities the sections might coöperate in the protection of the Monroe Doctrine, then violated in Mexico, and in a vindication of that right of self-government which all Americans, North and South, "held to be peculiarly and specially sacred." Meantime the blood of the combatants would cool, and a settlement of the Mexican question would lead to a peaceful adjustment of their domestic problems. The slavery policy of the United States was talked about. Stephens wanted to know what "position the Confederate States would occupy toward the others, if they were to abandon the war."

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[1] This is the second part of the paper which Mr. Bullard read at the December, 1948, meeting. The first part appeared in *Proceedings*, 69. 274–307, entitled, "The Magnanimity of Abraham Lincoln."

[2] For the despatches see *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, XLVI, Part II, 505-513 (cited hereafter as *Rebellion Records*). Also *Lincoln's Account of the Hampton Roads Conference, with Facsimiles from the Original Documents in the Collection of Judd Stewart* (privately printed, 1910).

At the outset, President Lincoln affirmed in his flat-footed way that the Administration would not suspend hostilities until the Southern armies should be disbanded, that there would be no alteration in the emancipation policy, and that there must be real reunion, or, as he expressed it, the immediate restoration of the seceded states "to their practical relations to the Union." All questions aside from these absolutes he discussed in a sympathetic manner. The enforcement of the Confiscation Act had been entrusted entirely to the Executive, and he "should exercise the power . . . with the utmost liberality . . . he would be willing to be taxed to remunerate the Southern people for their slaves. He believed the people of the North were as responsible for slavery as the people of the South, and . . . he should be in favor, individually, of the Government paying a fair indemnity for the loss to the owners." As the hours passed it became clear that the deadlock could not be broken, but at the end the parties "took formal and friendly leave of each other."

Better remembered than the course of the arguments are three more or less familiar incidents. Hunter found occasion, in discussing "the propriety of the Executive entering into agreements with persons in arms against the acknowledged rightful public authority," to refer to "repeated instances . . . between Charles I, of England, and the people in arms against him." In reply the President said: "I do not profess to be posted in history. On all such matters I will turn you over to Seward. All I distinctly recollect about the case of Charles I, is, that he lost his head in the end." Like a good sportsman, Stephens embodied this account in his history.[3]

For another amusing incident General Grant supplied the record. He related that shortly after the conference, Lincoln "asked me if I had seen that overcoat of Stephens's. I replied that I had. 'Well,' said he, 'did you see him take it off?' I said, Yes. 'Well,' said he, 'didn't you think it was the biggest shuck and the littlest ear that ever you did see?' " Grant added that when Stephens heard this story, he laughed "immoderately at the simile."[4]

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[3] Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the late War between the States; Its Causes, Character, Conduct, and Results. Presented in a Series of Colloquies at Liberty Hall* (Philadelphia . . . [1870]), II. 599-619.

There is also the story of Lincoln's kindly interest in his old friend's welfare. The vexed question of the exchange of prisoners had been considered at the conference. As they were breaking up, the President asked Stephens if in any way he could do him a favor, and the vice-president told him that Lieutenant John A. Stephens, a nephew, had been for more than a year a prisoner on Johnson's Island, in Lake Erie, and nothing had been heard of him in that time. Lincoln made a note of the name and rank, and on the day following the meeting he telegraphed the commanding officer at Johnson's Island to send the lieutenant at once to Washington "to report to me here in person." The young man found the prairie giant "lying full length on a long office table, with his elbow on the table and his face resting on his hand, talking to Mr. Seward who sat in a chair." The lieutenant was astonished to see the President "unwind," until there stood before him "the tallest man he ever saw." The tall man came to him, extended his hand, and gave him "a gracious and cordial welcome." He must rest awhile in the city, and then come back for his passport and exchange papers. In the following week he saw Lincoln again, and this time alone. The President chatted with him about his friendship for his uncle, and sent him away with a letter, a photograph, and a memory that he and his people cherished throughout their lives. The letter asked his uncle "to select and send to me that officer of the same rank imprisoned at Richmond whose physical condition most urgently requires his release." Having autographed the photograph, Lincoln suggested that he take that along also, saying "I don't expect there are many of them down South." John Stephens framed the letter with the photograph, and for seventy years it hung on a wall in his home.[5]

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[4] *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1886), II. 423.

[5] This account is taken from a written statement by Dr. Robert Stephens, a son of John Stephens, which may be seen with a facsimile in the *Lincoln Herald*, XLV (June, 1943), 18–21. For the telegrams see *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Editors, (New York, [1905]), X. 356, and XI. 32. Hereafter cited as *Complete Works*.

At Grant's headquarters, at City Point, President Lincoln spent fifteen days in late March and early April, 1865, making his home on board the *River Queen*, anchored out of the way in the James River. In the after-cabin of the vessel he presented to General Grant, General Sherman, and Admiral David D. Porter, a somewhat extended exposition of his plans for the making of peace with the Confederacy. To the generals he made known what terms they might offer for the surrender of the armies opposed to them. A few days later there occurred that famous and beautiful meeting in the McLean house at Appomattox. Grant wrote out the terms which General Lee accepted, but the central, although unseen, figure in that historic scene was the President of the United States.

No really authentic statement was ever made as to what was said by any member of the group who had been present on board the *River Queen*. Sherman published in 1875 what Porter had written to him in 1866, and in 1885, in his "Recollections," the admiral narrated with much detail the incidents and conversations of the President's visit to City Point, but the two accounts do not agree, and the internal evidence of the accuracy of Porter's memories is not convincing.[6]

Within a few years there developed an opinion that what Grant and Sherman had done was with the authority of the President. People began to remember, and the newspapers began to print reminders. What about the Amnesty Proclamations of December 8, 1863, and March 26, 1864? In the former the President, with the authority of Congress, declared that "a full pardon" would be granted "to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion," with certain exceptions, together "with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves," on the one condition that they "subscribe . . . keep and maintain" an "oath inviolate" to "support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder," and to "abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves." The exceptions included mainly civil or diplomatic officers of "the so-called Confederate Government," judges, former members of Congress, military officers above the rank of colonel and naval officers above that of lieutenant.[7] The second proclamation was designed to "define" more clearly "the cases in which insurgent enemies are entitled to the benefits" of the first. It applied only to persons "at large" who "shall voluntarily come forward and take the said oath." It did not apply to prisoners, but they might "apply to the President for clemency, like all other offenders."[8]

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[6] *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman, by Himself* (New York, 1875), II. 328–331. Admiral David D. Porter, *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War* (New York, 1885), 284–290.

There were many who recalled also what the President had said in his annual message to Congress of December 6, 1864. He had affirmed that the issue between "the insurgent leader" and the Union government was "distinct, simple, and inflexible." It was "an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory." And six short sentences further on: "[The Southern people] can at any moment have peace simply by laying down their arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution."[9] Many rumors were in circulation in February, 1865, as to what had occurred at Hampton Roads. In response to a resolution, Lincoln sent a special message to the House of Representatives containing a full account of that conference. Elihu Washburne moved that ten thousand copies be printed for general circulation. A lively debate followed, in which seven Republicans and three Democrats took part, with the latter consuming the major portion of the time. The resolution itself was hardly discussed at all, but readers of the news obtained a fairly accurate knowledge of what had taken place at the so-called "Peace Conference." We wonder, also, how any intelligent person could miss the definite indications in the Second Inaugural Address of the magnanimity with which the President proposed to proceed in the reconstruction of the Union.[10]

Adam Badeau, Grant's military secretary, writing in later years of Lincoln's stay at City Point, said that the President "foresaw the imminent civil complications that success involved. His great heart was full of charity, however, and he was planning already what merciful magnanimity he could show to those who had resisted and reviled himself and his government so long. Some of these plans he unfolded now to Grant."[11] Also Horace Porter, who served as personal aide to Grant, learned a few facts from his chief. More than once the President expressed the hope that no more battles need be fought. He was inclined to "lean toward a generous policy," and he intimated, in speaking "about the Confederate political leaders," that "it would relieve the situation if they should escape to some foreign country."[12] Neither Badeau nor Porter remembered anything about the surrender terms as such.

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[7] *Complete Works,* IX. 218–223. [8] *Ibid.,* X. 58–60. [9] *Ibid.,* X. 308.

[10] *Congressional Globe,* February 10, 1865, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I. 729–735.

[11] Adam Badeau, *Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, from April, 1861, to April, 1865* (New York, 1868–1881), III. 536.

It was on April 9 that Grant sent Stanton his well-remembered despatch: "General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon upon terms proposed by myself."[13] How simple those terms were. Officers and men to be paroled; all arms, except side arms, to be stacked and abandoned, all "to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside." And the after-thought, that any private soldier owning a horse or a mule might take it home for the working of his farm.[14] Nothing in all history parallels those terms.

And at that Grant exceeded his authority. In the first Amnesty Proclamation the President had excluded from pardon all army officers above the rank of colonel, whereas the general in effect had pardoned everybody from the lowest private all the way up through the ranks to General Lee himself. Doubtless Nicolay and Hay were right in thinking that amidst the general jubilation it was deemed best to "forget it."[15]

But in another matter of vast importance Grant kept absolutely within bounds. In their interchange of notes before the meeting in the McLean house, Lee had agreed to see Grant, not for surrender, but for the consideration of measures for "the restoration of peace." In reply Grant wrote: "I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, . . . I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event."[16] President Lincoln had carefully defined the limits of the general's authority when the inevitable finale should be reached. Never was he more emphatic than in his despatch of March 3 to Grant, signed by Stanton:

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[12] General Horace Porter, *Campaigning with Grant* (New York, 1897), 423–424.

[13] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XLVI, Part III. 663.

[14] Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, II. 496: facsimile.

[15] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), X. 196.

[16] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XLVI, Part III. 641, 664.

> The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee, unless it be for the capitulation of General Lee's army or on some minor and purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political question. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meantime you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.[17]

That order rings with the tone of mastery. He was on guard against any interference, designed or accidental, with his generous plans for the reconstruction of the Union. He knew that he was acting in defiance of the radicals in Congress. We suspect that he had shrewd reasons for sending these directions to Grant through the Secretary of War.

Sherman hurried back to his army from City Point, and on April 18 he reached an agreement with General Joseph E. Johnston, which, so he notified his superiors in Washington, "if approved by the President . . . will produce peace from the Potomac to the Rio Grande." The existing Confederate armies were "to be disbanded and conducted to their several State capitals, there to deposit their arms and public property in the State arsenal, and each officer and man to . . . file an agreement to cease from acts of war and to abide the action of both State and Federal authority." All arms and munitions were to be "subject to the future action of the Congress of the United States." The state governments were to be recognized by "the Executive of the United States" on "their officers and legislatures taking the oaths prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, and where conflicting State governments" might exist "the legitimacy of all shall be submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States." All federal courts in the states to be reëstablished "with powers as defined by the Constitution and laws of Congress." The people to be "guaranteed . . . their political rights and franchises, as well as their rights of person and property, as defined by the Constitution of the United States and of the States, respectively." The United States executive authority "not to disturb any of the people by reason of the late war so long as they live in peace and quiet . . . and obey the laws." With the ending of war and the disbandment of armies, there should be "a general amnesty." In his covering letter Sherman stressed that "the dispersion and disbandment . . . is done in such a manner as to prevent their breaking up into guerrilla bands." And Johnston "admitted that slavery was dead."[18]

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[17] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III. 263.

Surely an astounding document, in amazing contrast with Grant's terms to Lee. On the day of Appomattox Grant had sent Sherman the full text of the paper Lee had signed.[19] From Raleigh on April 15 Sherman had telegraphed the War Department: "I will accept the same terms as General Grant gave General Lee, and be careful not to complicate any points of civil policy,"[20] whatever that may mean. In after years he wrote that "recalling the conversation of Mr. Lincoln, at City Point, I sat down . . . and wrote off the terms, which I thought concisely expressed his views and wishes."[21] Quite probably we may learn some things the President had said from these truce proposals. Sherman's sincerity cannot be doubted, nor that he acted from high motives. When the document arrived in Washington, the Cabinet was summoned in special session, with Grant present. "There seemed to be the greatest consternation," he remembered, "lest Sherman would commit the government to terms which they were not willing to accede to and which he had no right to grant."[22] Secretary Welles recorded that all were of one mind, and that Grant, though "decidedly opposed" to what Sherman had done, was "tender to sensitiveness of his brother officer, and abstained from censure."[23] That night Grant sent a despatch to Sherman, explaining the situation, and enclosing a "copy of a dispatch (penned by the late President, though signed by the Secretary of War)."[24] This message contained news that must have surprised and presumably shocked that grim soldier—a copy in full of the President's precise instructions of March 3 to Grant, prohibiting his making any political stipulations to General Lee. Lincoln's directions were written on the night of the closing session of Congress. The President was at the Capitol, as were Stanton, Seward, and others whom he might wish to consult as to the contents of bills. Grant's request for instructions was handed to him, and Lincoln, asking "no advice or suggestion from any one about him . . . wrote with his usual slowness and precision a dispatch in Stanton's name, which he showed to Seward and then handed to Stanton to be signed, dated, and sent."[25] Grant was hurried off to North Carolina. With the utmost courtesy, he kept in the background, hoping the army would not learn of his presence. He would not humiliate his friend and subordinate, and Sherman himself undid what he had done.[26] Johnston's surrender on the terms Lee had accepted took place on April 26.

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[18] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III. 243–244.

[19] *Ibid.*, 140. [20] *Ibid.*, 221. [21] Sherman, *Memoirs*, II. 353.

[22] Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, II. 516.

[23] *Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston and New York, [1911]), II. 294–295.

[24] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III. 263–264.

And then the afterclap! Sherman had behaved himself beautifully until a New York newspaper arrived containing a message from Stanton to General John A. Dix, at New York City, as commander of the Department of the East, in which Lincoln's instructions, Sherman's peace conditions, and various insertions and omissions were so manipulated as to cause Sherman to appear before the public in the position almost of a traitor. Sherman considered this "a gross outrage."[27] So did Grant.[28] The public was led to believe that Lincoln's order of March 3 had been known to Sherman. Again and again he denied any such knowledge. For a time he was widely denounced, but his record and character counted with all fair-minded persons, and he rapidly regained his former popularity. At the "Grand Review" late in May, however, all Washington and a multitude of spectators from many states noted his refusal to accept Stanton's proffered hand, and the general, still boiling with righteous indignation, did not allow the nation to forget the incident.[29] The most charitable view of the conduct of the impetuous Secretary of War would be that he lost his head, and swung into action in a furious hurry and without complete information. Lincoln stands clear, but somebody blundered. Sherman ought to have been informed of Lincoln's explicit directive. Grant may have supposed that a duplicate had been sent to him, and, as the commanding officer, he might have wired a copy to Sherman. It must be considered that those were the days of fear and fury, following the murder of President Lincoln. It was Sherman who broke the news of the assassination to Johnston. The funeral train had left Washington only the day before Stanton wrote his despatch to General Dix. For weeks after the excitement had subsided Sherman found comfort in the cherished memories of the magnificent ovation which his troops had received at the great review.[30]

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[25] Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, x. 158.

[26] Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, II. 516-517.

[27] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III. 285–286 and 345–346.

[28] Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, II. 517.

[29] Sherman, *Memoirs*, II. 377.

No man in the nation had studied more seriously and mastered more completely the twin problems of slavery and secession than had Abraham Lincoln in the seven years preceding his taking the oath to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." In his second inaugural address he said that the first had been "devoted altogether to saving the Union without war," and in that inaugural, addressing his "dissatisfied fellow-countrymen," he declared: "You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors." And he added: "You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend' it." In the second inaugural he reminded the nation again that in 1861 "Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came." To the saving of the Union for the sake of the people of the United States and for the vindication of democracy around the world, he devoted all his physical, mental, and moral powers.

At the outset, on March 4, 1861, he reiterated to the Southern people what he had affirmed many times. "I have no purpose," he said, "directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists." Yet he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Forthwith he was accused of duplicity. He justified his act as a war measure. In the proclamation itself he declared it to be "a fit and necessary war measure."[31] He said in his letter to Greeley that he would free all of the slaves, or none of the slaves, or some of the slaves, as a means for the saving of the Union. In an interview in August, 1864, he is reported to have stated that "So long as I am President, it [the war] shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But," he added, "no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion."[32] On assuming the presidency, he had addressed the people, North and South, in behalf of peace. He had no intention of pledging himself not to adopt any policy—*if war should come*—that might be required to prevent the disruption of the Union. The Proclamation of Emancipation made it enormously more difficult for Europe to intervene in behalf of the Confederacy. The success of the North would mean the end of slavery. The decision of the South to continue in rebellion would signify abroad the determination of a group of states to establish a nation whose economy was founded on an institution which was under the condemnation of the advanced nations of the world. Lincoln did not strike the shackles from three millions of slaves by a stroke of his pen, as has often been said, but the Proclamation did produce a tremendous moral effect around the globe, and it doomed slavery in America, a consummation which was brought about in 1865 with the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

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[30] In his message to Dix, the secretary even intimated that a large amount of gold and the plunder of the Richmond banks had been carried away by Jefferson Davis in his flight, and insinuated that Sherman might allow him to escape to Mexico or Europe with the spoil. For a full discussion, see James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York and London, 1900–1928), V. 171 ff.

[31] *Complete Works*, VI. 170, and VIII. 162.

[32] *Ibid.*, X. 191.

Several times the President explained carefully the reasoning which convinced him of this duty. He had "struggled nearly a year and a half to get along without touching the 'institution.'" Finally, he "gave a hundred days' fair notice" of his purpose. He had hoped to suppress the rebellion without resorting to emancipation.[33] When he did adopt that extreme policy, it was done "by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion . . . as a fit and necessary war measure."[34] The full scope of the President's slavery policy, and the patient solicitude with which through all the war years he studied the problems of the Southern people, can be appreciated only when one considers the means by which he sought to help them. Chief among these were gradual emancipation, colonization, and compensated emancipation.

For the first, citations from three letters may serve as illustrations. There assembled in Missouri on June 15, 1863, a convention mainly for dealing with the question of emancipation. A committee reported on several plans, the majority favoring an ordinance that slavery "shall cease to exist in Missouri on the fourth of July, 1870," and "all slaves within the State on that day are hereby declared to be free." Slaves more than forty years of age, however, were to remain under control of their masters for life, those under twelve until their twenty-third year, and those of all other ages until July 4, 1870. The ordinance was adopted on July 1. The state election of 1864 put before the people the direct issue of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and the majority vote stood for emancipation without delay. In the following January a constitutional convention adopted an outright abolition ordinance.[35] What was done in Missouri attracted the attention of the people of Arkansas, and the Union forces operating in that state, under the command of General Stephen A. Hurlbut. Arkansas had been one of the latest states to secede and one of the first to be recovered for the Union. Missouri, never having seceded, did not come within the limits of the Emancipation Proclamation. In answer to an inquiry from General Hurlbut, Lincoln, on the last day of July, 1863, before the adoption of undelayed emancipation in Missouri, wrote:

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[33] *Ibid.*, VIII. 182 and IX. 246.

[34] *Ibid.*, VIII. 162.

> The emancipation proclamation applies to Arkansas. I think it is valid in law, and will be so held by the courts. . . . I believe some plan substantially being gradual emancipation would be better for both white and black. The Missouri plan, recently adopted, I do not object to on account of the time for ending the institution; but I am sorry the beginning should have been postponed for seven years, leaving all that time to agitate for the repeal of the whole thing.[36]

In a letter of March 7, 1864, to John A. J. Creswell, whose term as a congressman from Maryland had begun three days previously, the President also dealt with emancipation in a state not included in the Proclamation.

> I am very anxious for emancipation to be effected in Maryland in some substantial form. I think it probable that my expressions of a preference for gradual over immediate emancipation, are misunderstood. I had thought the gradual would produce less confusion and destitution, and therefore would be more satisfactory; but if those who are better acquainted with the subject, and are more deeply interested in it, prefer the immediate, most certainly I have no objection to their judgment prevailing. My wish is that all who are for emancipation in any form, shall coöperate, all treating all respectfully, and all adopting and acting upon the major opinion when fairly ascertained. What I have dreaded is the danger that by jealousies, rivalries, and consequent ill-blood . . . the friends of emancipation themselves may divide, and lose the measure altogether.[37]

This "major opinion" was "fairly ascertained," although in that state which had been the scene of so many controversies between Unionists and Secessionists the vote was very close. A constitutional convention sat at Annapolis for about four months beginning late in April, which adopted in June, by a two-to-one vote, an article for the abolition of slavery. The statewide vote on the new constitution was taken in October. Henry W. Hoffman, whom Lincoln had appointed collector of customs in Baltimore, asked the President to send a message for a public meeting to be held in the city two days before the vote was to be taken. Lincoln sent word that "on every consideration" he desired "the extinction of slavery." He said: "I wish all men to be free. I wish the material prosperity of the already free, which I feel sure the extinction of slavery would bring. I wish to see in process of disappearing that only thing which ever could bring this nation to civil war."[38] The vote carried emancipation by a majority of 375 in a total of sixty thousand, but there was no serious disorder in consequence of the small margin of the victory. This result was made effectual by legislative action for "repealing nearly the whole of the 'black code.' "[39]

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[35] *The American Annual Cyclopedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1863*, 654–655; Lucian Carr, *Missouri, A Bone of Contention* (Boston and New York, 1888), 363–365.

[36] *Complete Works*, IX. 51–52.

[37] *Ibid.*, X. 30–31.

The President's faith in colonization as a solution for the race problem in America may seem curious and perhaps amusing to present-day students, but there are two facts which always should be kept in mind in thinking of that policy. His motives command the respect of all informed persons, and the plan, unworkable though it proved to be, had been advocated for years, not only by idealists and philanthropists, but by many of the most "practical" of American politicians. The Colonization Society was organized in 1817, with Henry Clay among its founders. James Madison was its president in the period of its greatest influence, and among its vice-presidents were Chief-Justice John Marshall and Daniel Webster. In 1827 its annual meeting was held in the House of Representatives, and Clay delivered a famous address in behalf of the cause. The avowed objective of the society was the colonization of free Negroes. It was not an abolition organization. The colony which in time became the independent nation known as Liberia was established in 1822. Under a law of the United States, the slave trade having been prohibited, all Negroes illegally brought into the country were to be sent to Liberia, and the government maintained for a score of years an agency for their support. With these facts, and numerous other pertinent matters, Lincoln must have been familiar. In his discussions of colonization and related topics he always was cautious and discriminating.

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[38] *Ibid.*, x. 239–240.

[39] *Annual Cyclopedia, 1865*, 528.

In the Peoria speech he said: "My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia. . . . But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible," and he went on to point out the enormous difficulties deportation must encounter. After four years, in the first of the debates with Douglas, he reiterated this statement, and quoted the entire passage.[40] Whether he was aware of what William Lloyd Garrison had said in a long arraignment of the society in 1832 is a question. The celebrated crusader admitted that "The number of slaves annually smuggled into the South is seven times that actually transported to Africa by the Society in fifteen years."[41] We are reminded also of an incident told by Benjamin F. Butler, the exact accuracy of which we are disposed to doubt. The President had asked him for figures "to show whether the Negroes can be exported." Without submitting any figures, General Butler reported on the second day following that he had made very careful calculations and reached the conclusion that not with all the country's naval vessels and the merchant marine could the Negroes be transported to a place so near as the Island of San Domingo "half as fast as Negro children will be born" in the United States.[42]

In his first annual message the President alluded to the effect of the Confiscation Act, of August 6, 1861, on the status of slaves who had been liberated and become dependent on the United States, and suggested that "steps be taken for colonizing" them "at some place or places in a climate congenial to them."[43] Congress after a few months passed an act for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia which Lincoln signed on April 16, 1862. It contained an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars "to aid in the colonization and settlement" of any Negroes thus liberated and such free Negroes living in the District as "may desire to emigrate to the Republics of Hayti or Liberia, or such other country beyond the limits of the United States as the President may determine." Then, on July 16 following, Lincoln signed an act which appropriated an additional five hundred thousand dollars "to enable the President to carry out the Act of Congress for the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia, and to colonize those to be made free by the probable passage of a confiscation bill."[44] It has been suggested that Congress may have passed this bill as a means for getting Lincoln's signature to a measure which he heartily disliked, that is the Second Confiscation Act.[45]

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[40] *Complete Works*, II. 206–207 and III. 227–228.

[41] *William Lloyd Garrison 1805–1879. The Story of His Life Told by His Children* (New York, 1885), I. 295–296.

[42] *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences of Major-General Benjamin F. Butler. Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), 903–904.

[43] *Complete Works*, VII. 50.

In his annual message of December, 1862, a long paragraph about colonization may be found in which the President alluded to Liberia and Hayti as "the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens," and he went on to record his belief that "ere long there will be an augmented and considerable migration to both these countries from the United States." Two experiments in colonization actually were undertaken, one to a region near Panama and another to an island off the coast of Hayti. Both failed. The President must have signed with profound regret a direction to Secretary Stanton on February 1, 1864, to send a ship to the island to bring back the colonists who wished to return.[46]

The plan nearest to the heart of Abraham Lincoln as a solution of the slavery problem was compensated emancipation. He would pay the owners for their slaves. In the Peoria speech, six years before he became President, he defined his attitude towards the South in terms which he never modified. "I have no prejudice against the Southern people," he said. "They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. . . . When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact." These convictions, together with his opinion that slavery was a domestic institution and that Congress had no power to interfere with it under the Federal Constitution in the states where it existed, were fundamental in his thinking throughout his life, and were often emphasized in his Presidential papers. In passing it is interesting to notice that in the Peoria speech in 1854 he said: "Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any great evil to avoid a greater one."[47]

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[44] *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, 347–348 and 410.

[45] See James G. Randall, *Lincoln, the President; Springfield to Gettysburg* . . . (New York, 1945), II. 137.

[46] *Complete Works*, VIII. 97–98 and IX. 301–302.

To the policy of compensation he recurred several times during his tenancy of the White House. In the first year of his administration he carefully wrote out two plans for the abandonment of slavery by the little state of Delaware. The details and minor differences in the two we need not examine. Under that which he preferred the legislature would enact appropriate measures for the freeing of the 1798 slaves in the state on the condition that the United States would pay their owners four hundred dollars for each of them, or in all $719,200. Congress would provide for payment in bonds in annual installments over a period of thirty-one years, and there were provisions for gradual emancipation. The Delaware legislature was composed of a senate of nine and a house of twenty-one members. A pro-slavery majority in the more numerous branch scornfully repudiated the plan. The Senate divided equally with one member unrecorded. The President presumably had hoped that acceptance by one border state which did not secede might encourage similar action elsewhere.[48]

The vice-president, Hannibal Hamlin, on March 7, 1862, laid before the Senate a special message from the White House recommending the adoption of a joint resolution expressing the purpose of the United States to coöperate with any state which might "adopt gradual abolishment of slavery," giving to any such state financial aid to be used in its discretion "to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such changes of system." The President pointed out that "very soon the current expenses of this war would purchase, at fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State." He took pains also to assure slave owners that any such action by the general government would set up "no claim of a right by Federal authority to interfere with slavery within State limits." This would be "a matter of perfectly free choice" by the states. In behalf of this proposal Lincoln wrote several private letters to men in positions of influence hoping to obtain their backing. For example, he asked Henry J. Raymond, of the *New York*

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[47] *Complete Works,* II. 205–206 and 236.

[48] *Complete Works,* VII. 21–23; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln,* V. 206–208.

Times if he had noticed that "less than one half day's cost of this war would pay for all the slaves in Delaware at $400 per head—that eighty-seven days' cost . . . would pay for all in Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Kentucky, and Missouri at the same price? Were those States to take the step, do you doubt that it would shorten the war more than eighty-seven days, and thus be an actual saving of expense?" In like manner he wrote a California senator who objected to the idea, with more detailed figures. All the States that Lincoln had in mind were border states.[49] When the resolution came up for consideration in Congress, the President adopted the very unusual course of inviting the border-state members then present in Washington to confer with him in the White House upon this plan. The discussion was indecisive. The legislators were troubled by fears and doubts, as the representatives of slave-holding constituencies. In the written memorandum of the discussion, signed by four representatives of Kentucky, it is recorded that John J. Crittenden assured the President that whatever might be their final action they "all thought him solely moved by a high patriotism and sincere devotion to the happiness and glory of his country."[50] Without undue delay the resolution was passed by the House eighty-nine to thirty-one, and by the Senate thirty-two to ten.[51]

After several months Lincoln again invited the border-state delegations to the White House. This time he read before them a paper, prepared with anxious care, in which he asked them as patriots and statesmen to consider anew his proposal for compensation which Congress had sanctioned, "and at the least commend it to the consideration of your States and people." He offered one new argument: "If the war continues long, as it must if the object [meaning the preservation of the Union] be not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it." He alluded to the order issued by General David Hunter for the liberation of all the slaves in his Department of the South. Lincoln had "repudiated the proclamation" and thus given offense to many, but, he said, "The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing." He asked them to discard "punctilio and maxims adapted to more manageable times." It was a cogent, impressive plea. Between the lines some of his hearers may have glimpsed dimly the decision under consideration in his own mind. Only a minority of these listeners returned anything like a favorable reply to his plea.[52]

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[49] *Complete Works,* VII. 119; Nicolay and Hay, V. 210–211. The Senator was James A. McDougall.

[50] For this memorandum see *Complete Works,* VII. 127.

[51] *Congressional Globe,* 37th Congress, 2nd Session, Part II. 1179 and 1496.

Exactly ten days after this conference, at the cabinet meeting of July 22, 1862, the President informed his advisors of his intention to issue an emancipation proclamation.[53] Not until September 22, following the battle of Antietam was the preliminary proclamation sent forth, giving full notice that after one hundred days, on the next New Year's Day, a final proclamation would be issued to go into effect at once, provided the war meantime should not have terminated. In that advance notice Lincoln definitely states his "purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery."[54] Congress met in 1862 on the first day of December; the annual presidential message of that date contained a recommendation for a constitutional amendment that "Every State wherein slavery now exists which shall abolish the same" before the year 1900 "shall receive compensation from the United States" under a bond issue which was described at length. One feels today the glow of earnestness with which he wrote this portion of the message. His calculations, however, contained an error. He showed that the nation's increase in population from 1790 to 1860 had averaged 34.60 per cent in each decade; let that ratio continue for another seven decades and in 1930 the population would be 251,680,714. (It actually was 122,775,046.) He considered this "law of increase" to be "inflexible" and therefore "reliable." This is the message which concludes with the eloquent paragraph containing these lines: "Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. . . . We know how to save the Union. . . . In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free. . . . We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth."[55]

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[52] *Complete Works*, VII. 270–274; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, VI. 108–112.

[53] Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1902, II: *Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase*, 48.

[54] *Complete Works*, VIII. 36–41.

Such passages confirm the opinion that Abraham Lincoln lived on a higher level than the majority of the men of his time. Where in all the records of human affairs can one find another man, in such a position as he occupied, exposed to such clashing tides of selfish fury, maintaining his balance so well, keeping his ideals intact, so combining shrewd statesmanship with such dreams of equity?

Compensation for the loss of slave property as a measure for the unification of the nation was to him more nearly equivalent to a panacea than any other measure of statecraft of which he could conceive. He held it to be fair and wise, sound in law, and practicable, and that its adoption would initiate a process that would knit renew and affirm the bonds of federal brotherhood. To this theme he returned at the cabinet meeting on the evening of February 5, 1865, with the reading of a draft of a message to Congress in which he recommended the passage of a joint resolution empowering the President to pay four hundred millions of dollars to the eleven states that had seceded and the four slave states that had not, together with the new state of West Virginia —sixteen states in all—the payments to be made in government bonds, "and to be distributed among said States *pro rata* on their respective slave populations as shown by the census of 1860." No payment should be made unless resistance to the national authority should end by the first of April, half then to be paid at once, and half "upon the amendment to the National Constitution recently proposed by Congress becoming valid law" by state ratifications by the first of July. He added that the adoption of the resolution was "sought with a view to embody it, with other propositions, in a proclamation looking to peace and reunion." At that time the days of the Confederacy were numbered. Not the valor of the soldiers of the South nor the ability of their leaders could withstand many more weeks the overwhelming resources of the North. The "kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man" of Lowell's ode, as always, was looking ahead. In his proposed proclamation he affirmed the intention of using the executive power to establish peace and disband armies, with the pardon of "all political offenses." The proposed message never was sent to Congress. On this draft, in his own hand, this endorsement was written: "Today these papers, which explain themselves, were drawn up and submitted to the cabinet and unanimously disapproved by them. A. Lincoln." That scene tugs upon the heartstrings today of any sensitive student of his career.[56]

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[55] *Ibid.*, 116–117, 122–124, and 131.

In his first inaugural address Abraham Lincoln stated, clearly and emphatically, the principle on which he proposed to conduct his administration. There is a singularly prophetic quality in that great state paper. He said:

> I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination . . . no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; . . . resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and . . . acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. . . . in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care . . . that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. . . . Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible.[57]

Never in the slightest degree did President Lincoln modify or abandon these sentiments. On them he based his views on the enormously complicated problems of reconstruction. He came to Washington conceiving the saving of the Union to be his over-all duty. One feels that, with one state after another adopting ordinances of secession until seven had declared themselves out of the Union at the time he took the oath of office, he had thought his way into the very heart of the question of the rehabilitation of the nation.

With his third annual message to Congress, he sent a copy of a proclamation of the same date, December 8, 1863, containing his plan for "a resumption of the national authority within" the seceded states. He believed "that nothing is attempted beyond what is amply justified by the Constitution." True, there was an oath embodied in the plan, but "no man is coerced to take it."[58] This is the celebrated Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, based primarily on the constitutional provision endowing a President with "power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment," and secondarily on an Act of Congress which he had approved on July 17, 1862. A section of this act authorized the President, "at any time hereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such time and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare."[59] In the preamble the President alluded to the "forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves" for which Congress had passed laws, and affirmed that "some persons engaged heretofore in said rebellion" desired to "resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal State governments." He declared, therefore, that "all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion," were granted "a full pardon . . . with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves," with the single condition that they subscribe to and keep the oath which was to be "registered for permanent preservation." Thus the registrant bound himself to "support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder," and to abide by the laws which Congress had passed and the proclamations the President had issued with reference to slaves, "so long and so far" as the laws were "not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court," and so long as the proclamations were not invalidated by the court. Among the persons left outside the benefits of this proclamation were those who were or had been in the Confederate civil or diplomatic service, those who had left federal "judicial stations," others who had quit the federal Congress, and all who had resigned army or navy commissions to aid the rebellion, and military and naval officers of higher rank than army colonel and navy lieutenant.

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[56] *Complete Works*, XI. 1–3.

[57] *Complete Works*, VI. 173, 175, and 179.

The proclamation embodied also a plan for the reincorporation into the Union of the seceded states. Ten states were named; Virginia was omitted. In any of these states when a group who had taken and kept the prescribed oath, numbering at least one-tenth of the votes cast in that state in the presidential election of 1860, these all being qualified voters under the state laws prior to secession, "and excluding all others, shall reëstablish a State government which shall be republican . . . such shall be recognized as the true government of the State," and enjoy the benefits of "the constitutional provision which declares that 'The United States shall guaranty to every State . . . a republican form of government.' " Also the President pledged himself not to object to any arrangement such a government might set up in recognition of the permanent freedom of the Negroes and for their education. The proclamation further contained a definite recognition of the constitutional right of Congress alone to decide whether members sent from any state should be admitted to either House, and it ended with the statement that "while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable."[60]

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[58] *Complete Works*, IX. 247–248.

[59] *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, 413.

This document, containing the famous ten-per-cent plan for reconstruction, is eminently characteristic of the Civil-War President—wary of pitfalls, careful in discrimination, Euclidian in style, and thoughtful of powers outside those of the executive; he had Congress to deal with. As to Virginia: a new state had been carved from the Old Dominion, and the bill for its admission to the Union contained a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery. Lincoln was not well satisfied with the measure, and a veto was apprehended by many, but he signed the bill on the last day of 1862. A nominal government of the original state, functioning in a way as "the restored Union government," under Francis Peirpoint,[61] was set up over the river from Washington at Alexandria. Lincoln believed from the beginning that secession had been forced by a fraction only of the people in all, or all but one, of the Confederate states. In his message to the special session of Congress in July, 1861, he stated:

> It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except perhaps South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if

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[60] For the proclamation, see *Complete Works*, IX. 218–223; *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, Roy P. Basler, Editor (Cleveland and New York, [1946]), 738–741.

[61] Peirpoint did not adopt the more familiar spelling of his name until 1881; see Charles H. Ambler, *Francis H. Pierpont* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 3.

> not in every other one, of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them.[62]

Only in Texas did the people have an opportunity to vote on secession —and this was after the ordinance had been passed by the legislature by a vote of one hundred and sixty-six to seven. The popular vote stood about three to one in a total of 46,000. In Louisiana also a vote was taken, not on the ordinance for secession, but for convention delegates. That vote stood 20,000 for and 17,000 against secession, but the delegates divided one hundred and thirteen to seventeen.[63]

The President used all his influence to promote reconstruction in accordance with his plan and to foster favorable trends in certain states. Arkansas had seceded and her delegates were seated in the Confederate Congress. There were many loyalists in the northern half of the state. Lincoln launched a ten-per-cent movement. A government was set up which declared the secession ordinance null and void, and three representatives and two senators were sent to Washington, only to encounter denial of any right of admission to Congress. It is impossible to do more than mention a few of the events in the kaleidoscopic story of Tennessee. A convention declared for secession, and a popular vote of 151,000 declared more than two to one for the Confederacy. Early in 1862 Union armies took over the greater part of the state, and on March 12 Andrew Johnson, a Democrat and a Tennessee Unionist, arrived at Nashville as war governor. The state was divided within itself. In the later war years the President's plan was initiated. The constitution was revised. Secession was repudiated. Slavery was abolished. An overwhelming majority in a relatively small vote ratified the amendatory articles. The state voted in the election of 1864 and sent representatives to Congress, but the electoral vote was not counted, nor were the applicants admitted to seats in either house. The shadowy government for Virginia was set up by a miniature "convention" of sixteen members. A constitution was adopted and slavery was abolished. Five days before his death Lincoln telegraphed "Governor" Peirpoint at Alexandria to "come up and see me at once." Years later—how many years we do not know—Peirpoint recorded the story of the interview that followed. He remembered Lincoln's saying that he had "intended to recognize the restored government" which he headed "as the rightful government of Virginia." Also that "The great fact he was seeking after was: Was there a Union sentiment in the South that would develop itself if it had a chance, and how could it be developed?" The biographer accepts this record as accurate. The sentence about Union sentiment in the South has the genuine Lincoln flavor. It is difficult, however, to see how the President could have derived much satisfaction from the use of his reconstruction plan in Virginia.[64]

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[62] *Complete Works*, VI. 319; Basler, *Lincoln: Speeches and Writings*, 606.

[63] *Annual Cyclopedia, 1861*, 688–689 and 431.

The most interesting of these experiments took place in Louisiana. With the capture of New Orleans the military occupation of the state began, and continued throughout the war. Relying on his war powers the President promoted a movement for the restoration of a loyal government. In August, 1862, General George F. Shepley was appointed military governor. A system of courts was established whose jurisdiction expanded and contracted with the advance and retreat of the Union armies. In October of that year Lincoln wrote General Benjamin F. Butler, commander of the Department of the Gulf and ruler of the city of New Orleans, addressing the letter also to Governor Shepley and others, suggesting that "such of the people . . . as desire . . . to have peace again upon the old terms under the Constitution of the United States, manifest such desire by elections of members to the Congress of the United States particularly, and perhaps a legislature, State officers, and United States senators friendly to their object." He would have them "In all available ways give the people a chance to express their wishes in these elections." A fortnight before the vote Lincoln wrote to Shepley a short, almost curt, and certainly a very significant letter, in which he said: "We do not particularly need members of Congress from there to enable us to get along with legislation here. What we do want is the conclusive evidence that respectable citizens of Louisiana are willing to be members of Congress and to swear support to the Constitution, and that other respectable citizens there are willing to vote for them and send them." In allusion to the fears of the people that men on the make from outside the state might get to Congress, he added: "To send a parcel of Northern men here as representatives, elected, as would be understood (and perhaps really so), at the point of the bayonet, would be disgusting and outrageous; and were I a member of Congress here, I would vote against admitting any such man to a seat."[65]

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[64] Ambler, *Pierpont*, 255–259.

The voting took place on December 3, and candidates were duly elected as representatives from two congressional districts. There were doubts and arguments over their admission to the House, but they were seated on February 17, 1863, and served for the remaining days of that Congress which expired on March 3. In the opinion of James G. Blaine, "The Union men in Louisiana had been so encouraged by the admission of [Benjamin F.] Flanders and [Michael] Hahn to seats in Congress, that they were active during the year 1863 in maturing schemes for re-establishing a loyal State government."[66] The President watchfully followed events there. On November 5, 1863, in a letter to General Nathaniel P. Banks, who had succeeded Butler, he used a descriptive term which clearly indicates his purposes and hopes for the ten-per-cent policy which he announced in the following month. He had directed Governor Shepley

> without waiting for more territory, to go to work and give me a tangible nucleus which the remainder of the State may rally around as fast as it can, and which I can at once recognize and sustain as the true State government. And in that work I wish you and all under your command to give them a hearty sympathy and support. . . . Time is important. There is danger, even now, that the adverse element seeks insidiously to preoccupy the ground. If a few professedly loyal men shall draw the disloyal about them, and colorably set up a State government, repudiating the Emancipation Proclamation, and reëstablishing slavery, I cannot recognize or sustain their work. . . . This government in such an attitude would be a house divided against itself.[67]

The suggestive term, of course, is "tangible nucleus." He would have a centre of Unionism in each seceded state to diffuse loyal sentiment and expand Union territory. He would undermine the morale of the Confederacy. Once the war was won, he hoped to use loyal governments already functioning for the defeat of retributive schemes for reconstruction. An election was held, and on March 13, 1864, he congratulated Hahn as "having fixed your name in history as the first free-state governor of Louisiana." He wrote also: "Now you are about to have a Convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks."[68] A convention of ninety-five elected delegates was held, which continued in session for seventy-eight days. A constitution abolishing slavery was sent down to the people for adoption, and at the same election a legislature was chosen and five members of Congress. This legislature in turn chose two senators and seven presidential electors. When the session began in Washington in December these claimants for seats were on hand, but this state never was recognized by Congress, nor was its electoral vote counted. To be sure, the popular vote which had set up the new government was small, and the greater part of Louisiana was in the control of Union troops.

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[65] *Complete Works*, VIII. 61–62 and 79.

[66] James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years in Congress from Lincoln to Garfield, with a Review of the Events which led to the Events of the Political Revolution of 1860* (Norwich, Conn., 1886), II. 39.

[67] *Complete Works*, IX. 200–202.

Thus, slowly but surely, Lincoln was nibbling away at the political structure of the Confederacy on the basis of the loyalty of ten per cent of the population and limited amnesty. Having at heart the ultimate welfare of the *whole* Union, once the war should be over, he had wisely intervened in four of the eleven seceded states—Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas and Virginia. Just what would have happened after Appomattox, had Lincoln lived, is one of the most fascinating "ifs" of history. He had powerful political rebels in his own ranks. His assassination, sadly enough, helped the cause of the very men whose vindictiveness he had hoped to curb, for the wave of indignation which swept over the North at the news of his murder played into the hands of such baleful creatures as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner. Andrew Johnson was no match for them; Lincoln might have been. Ten years of Reconstruction cost the North all the lustre of its victory. The Union was saved, to be sure, but only to fall into the hateful hands of fanatics, fools, and knaves. In 1877, at last, the South was shrewd enough to seize the chance to trade Tilden for home rule.

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[68] *Complete Works*, x. 38–39; Basler, *Lincoln: Speeches and Writings*, 745.

A Crucial Juncture in the Political Careers of Lodge and Long

PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE[1]

I USE the word *juncture* because the political fortunes of these two eminent Massachusetts politicians were curiously joined in the election of 1886 in this state, and the word *crucial* because that year marked one of those turning points in Republican state politics which have recurred in contests between the Old Guard and the Young Republicans—not to say the Independents, or the Mugwumps. While not so spectacular as the overthrow of Butler or the upsets in our congressional representation in the Mugwump campaigns of 1884 to 1892, this episode has an interest for members of this Society because of the fact that we are custodians of the papers of both Governor Long and Senator Lodge.[2]

Portions of the papers of John Davis Long have been carefully used to make the basis of a book covering his career as Secretary of the Navy, but, so far as I know, the story of the real crises in his political career between his years as governor and as congressman on the one hand, and his period in the Cabinet on the other, has received little attention. In the case of Senator Lodge, the published accounts of his career that have come to my attention make little of the shift in his political position with respect to the Old Guard, which began with espousal of

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[1] This paper was read at the November, 1950, meeting.

[2] At the time, November, 1950, when this paper was read before the Society, the author had access to the Long Papers only; since then the Lodge Papers have been opened to John A. Garraty, who has made use of them in his recently published biography of Henry Cabot Lodge (New York, 1953). Mr. Garraty drew little from the Lodge Papers which pertained to the subject of the present paper. What he apparently chose to use does not lead the present writer to alter the substance of what was said in 1950 as to Lodge's part in the contest between Long and Dawes for Republican support in the Massachusetts legislature for election to the United States Senate. Mr. Garraty's emphasis on the influence of big businessmen upon the members of the legislature does not minimize the evidences of strength Long had with the mass of the voters. Had caucuses been able to pledge their respective senators or representatives to stand by the candidate of their choice in the legislature, Long would have been elected—in the opinion of the best observers. Therein lies the significance of the refusal of the Dawes men to submit the choice of the Republicans to a caucus. Lodge learned this lesson. It explains the extreme care which Lodge subsequently used to ensure the nomination and election to the legislature of 1893 of men pledged to him when he sought the senatorial seat about to be vacated by Dawes in that year.

Long's candidacy against Dawes's reëlection to the Senate in 1886-1887. What is offered here is an admittedly informal treatment.

The evidence from the files of the letters and scrapbooks in our possession and of a survey of the press discloses almost nothing of national import. In itself this has significance, for it shows how little intelligent interest was directed locally to those issues which later historians of the period have stressed as of the greatest social and economic importance. The monetary question was not faced squarely in local politics until the silver crisis of the nineties. The tariff was not brought out as a definite major party issue until Cleveland precipitated it in the election of 1888. Civil service received lip service from both parties. Foreign affairs, other than our interest in New England fisheries in Canadian waters, got practically no attention. Woman suffrage was not a party issue—in fact, Long and Lodge took different sides as members of the same party. The labor vote, believed to be controlled by the Knights of Labor in New England, was courted in some districts by both parties. Constitutional reform, nationally or within the state government or under Boston's old charter, amounted to little. Yet when one looks over the long list of "Firsts" in the articles in *Fifty Years of Boston,* what one sees there almost constantly is a creation of social agencies looking to a quite new conception of the part which the state and local governments should play in furthering the welfare of the community. Nevertheless, few of these social-reform movements became divisive political issues.

Let us start with a glance at the careers of these two men up to the time they became intimately connected in politics in 1884. I hesitate to review these facts because I realize that some of you here go back in your memories to those years, but for most of us, as I was advised by Professor Chafee, who asked me to attempt this paper, it is not a bad thing to take a look at the political history of our state—even in the midst of this era of world-shaking events.

For some years after Lodge was graduated from Harvard in 1871 he seems to have been considerably influenced by his former teacher, Henry Adams. Lodge was then trying to choose between literature and politics as a career. He associated with a group of earnest young men who had taken little part in politics or campaigns for office, young men who were motivated, one may say, by a sense of *noblesse oblige*, and so applied themselves to such non-partisan political reforms as Professor Schlesinger has recently shown were characteristic of the period. In this they regarded men like Carl Schurz and George William Curtis as their exemplars.

I have placed in the library of this Society the record book of the Commonwealth Club, in which during the few short years of its existence Lodge and his friends discussed political reforms, notably schemes for improving the government of the city of Boston. The roster of this club is worth the attention of anyone interested in the personnel of the so-called "élite" among the professional and businessmen of Boston. In this club Lodge was intimately associated with Moorfield Storey, who was later to become one of his severest critics. Our vice-president, Mr. Howe, in his biography of Storey, goes at length into the close relations of these two men and the cause of their later disagreement and bitter opposition to each other.

In the Hayes-Tilden election, Storey and Lodge took opposite sides: Storey voted for Hayes, Lodge for Tilden. This, says Mr. Fuess, was the first and only time Lodge bolted the Republican national ticket. When the next great test of their orthodoxy came in 1884, Lodge and Storey reversed their previous rôles, as we shall see. More significant, however, was Lodge's relation to Carl Schurz, the man who at that time had superseded Henry Adams as his mentor; for Schurz, like Storey, who had only recently been Sumner's secretary, was too far dominated in 1876 by the rancors of the Civil War to accept even so eminent a Democrat as Tilden. This picture also was reversed when, in 1884, Blaine's nomination became the issue. Now Schurz took a leading part in the Mugwump revolt, but he failed again to bring Lodge to his view. On this record we must grant that Lodge showed considerable independence, for in these two important elections he rejected the advice of both Henry Adams and Carl Schurz.

Up to this point, 1876, Lodge had been regarded as a member of the group of which President Eliot, George William Curtis, Carl Schurz, and Moorfield Storey were representative. Compare what Lodge wrote to Schurz in 1876 with what he wrote in 1884. Although these letters have been often discussed in our meetings, it is well to recall them once again. To Schurz he wrote in 1876:

> I finally abandoned Mr. Hayes and voted for Mr. Tilden and I believe him to have been fairly elected. But I care very little for either candidate and a great deal for my country and its institutions.

And to Roger Wolcott, then an active leader among the Young Reformers and Independents:

> As long as you tie yourself to the apron string of one party you will never effect anything at such a juncture as the present.
>
> If you are not prepared to run an independent candidate or support a Democrat when the Republicans put up a bad man you will never in my opinion reach any practical result.
>
> You proclaim your intention of sticking to the party at all events and as long as you do that the party managers, and they are quite right, will laugh at you and use you. . . . I have no faith in reform within the church. It is true that to get anything done in politics you must work through the mediums of the great parties but you must be prepared to use one against the other and then you may do something and make them bid up instead of down.

In 1884, defending to Schurz his adherence to Blaine, Lodge wrote:

> That course was the only honorable one to take . . . if I had announced to the Massachusetts Convention that if Mr. Blaine were nominated, I should bolt him, they would never have sent me to Chicago. On mere grounds of expedience it seems to me that no party was ever founded on opposition to a single man, or ever will be. Whatever the result of the election the parties will remain. By staying in the party I can be of some use. By going out I destroy all the influence for *power* and good I may possess.

To which Schurz replied:

> Our duty to the country which we discharge at the ballot box is in all respects paramount to any duty we may owe to party.

What had been happening to Lodge in these eight years? For one thing, he had fleshed his sword in the battle of local, practical politics. In 1879 he had been elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives from a district which included his technically legal domicile in Nahant. In that election he was the only Republican to succeed in that district, because as his biographer, Mr. Schriftgiesser, says, the other Republican candidates had incurred the displeasure of the liquor interests.[3] In the record of his two terms in the House, there is no evidence of the "reformer," but outside the legislature he responded to the call of Carl Schurz to oppose the third-term boom for Grant.

In his determination to win party recognition for himself, Lodge achieved, by sheer pluck and adroitness, a place for himself on the

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[3] Karl Schriftgiesser, *The Gentleman from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge* (Boston, 1944), 59.

Massachusetts delegation to the Republican National Convention of 1880. There he experienced intensive training in the arts of manipulating a political convention. That he enjoyed it and had the qualities to profit by this lesson was amply proved later on. He could, moreover, feel that he could continue to stand well with his old Independent and reformer friends by virtue of his part in inserting a civil-service plank in his party's platform. He returned to the Massachusetts House of Representatives for another term in 1880. The next year Lodge's virtual non-residence in the district caught up with him when he was defeated for the Massachusetts Senate and also was denied the Republican nomination for Congress in 1882. This failure probably did not hurt him, for his district went Democratic that year.

Recognized now as a valuable party worker, he was chosen chairman of the Republican State Committee, and, as such, was bound to be closely associated with party workers throughout the state and also with the reformers in their effort to prevent the reëlection of Ben Butler as governor on the Democratic ticket. This effort necessarily brought stalwart Republicans and Independents and Reformers into partnership; so that Lodge again found himself working with his former associates. Aside from this there is nothing in Lodge's record of these years to indicate any of the idealism and zeal one might expect from his earlier membership in the Commonwealth Club. On the contrary, his close political ties with Judge Joseph Thomas Wilson, the shrewd political boss of Nahant, indicate that he was learning at grass-roots level the arts of political manipulation and the importance of party discipline.

The acid test of regularity or independence came in the Chicago Convention of 1884, when he went as a Republican delegate pledged, if to anything, to secure the nomination of Senator George Franklin Edmunds of Vermont. He had then expressed his disgust at the possibility of Blaine's nomination as vehemently as had Theodore Roosevelt or any of the Independents and subsequent Mugwumps. At this convention Lodge won national attention by his success in substituting a Mississippi Negro, Judge John Roy Lynch, for the Blaine candidate for chairmanship of the convention. Furthermore, he gave valuable assistance to George William Curtis in defeating a resolution to bind all delegates in advance to support whomever might be the nominee of the convention. Nevertheless, when he returned from Chicago he decided, contrary to his decision in 1876, when he was faced with a similar dilemma, to stand by the Republican candidate. He refused to bolt. Of this decision Mr. Schriftgiesser writes: "That personal ambition led him [Lodge] to take this step, while all around him members of his own class—his closest friends and fellow reformers—were preparing to bolt, seems certain."[4] But he goes on to quote Louis A. Coolidge:

> [Lodge's detractors were not versed] in the necessities of politics and were unfamiliar with the exigencies of party organization and loyalty, could not comprehend that one might still remain true to his own, high political ideals while remaining true to the only organization which could give effect to those ideals through men and agencies perhaps not altogether satisfactory.[5]

There can be no doubt, then, that Lodge was not only disappointed but disgusted with the decision of the convention. Probably he did not, like Schurz, see it as the end of the Republican Party. He regarded it rather as a crisis in which he must reorient his political thinking. When he decided that night that he would not follow Carl Schurz into the Mugwump camp, he knew he would have a hard time justifying to his former associates his continued party loyalty. If he thought back to his exchange of letters with Carl Schurz in 1876, he must have known that he would have to contradict the high sentiments which he had then expressed as to the duty of the voter to put loyalty to country above loyalty to party. The effects of this fateful decision upon the relations between Lodge and Schurz and Storey, and many others of his old friends, has frequently been told.[6] But what concerns us today is what Lodge did, now that he saw his own political future must lie within the party—a party which, at the moment, was dominated by a group of men in whose leadership he had little or no confidence. With this in mind let us examine his association with John D. Long in the campaign of 1886.

When Lodge looked about him at the men with whom he would have to work as a party man, he saw, in the somewhat thinned ranks of Republicans, an Old Guard—the men who had stuck to the party through the Hayes-Tilden, the Grant, and the Blaine crises: Senator

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[4] Schriftgiesser, *Lodge*, 84.

[5] *Ibid.*, 87.

[6] M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Portrait of an Independent, Moorfield Storey, 1845–1929* (Boston and New York, 1932).

George Frisbie Hoar, Senator Henry Laurens Dawes, Governor George D. Robinson, ex-Governor Alexander H. Rice, Judge Adin Thayer, State Treasurer Alanson W. Beard, and Representatives William Wallace Crapo, John Q. A. Brackett, Charles G. Washburn, and Joseph H. Walker. To these men politics was a party matter. Quite secondary to party were the personal qualifications of candidates deemed expedient to carry the banner. And secondary, also, were the issues which they found it expedient to use as planks in their party platform and call them "good Republican principles."

As one examines the record of the next eight years, one is more impressed by Lodge's audacity, determination, and canny long-range planning than by any special attitudes he assumed on specific controversial measures. No one who studies this period of his life need be surprised at Lodge's later masterpieces of political management—in frustrating the Bull-Moose Movement, in his opposition to Wilson's League of Nations, and in his domination of the convention that nominated Harding.

Mr. Schriftgiesser says that Carl Schurz warned Lodge to lie low after the Blaine *débâcle* and not to seek honors from the Massachusetts Republicans because whatever he got from them would look like a reward for his adherence to Blaine.[7] Lodge, himself, was not so squeamish. He knew what he wanted—a foothold in national politics—and he went right after it. Lodge might have regretted the friendships he had sacrificed on the altar of party loyalty, but he could take some satisfaction that his "regularity" had created for him a strong credit deposit in the G.O.P. bank. He now proposed to cash that check before the G.O.P. funds ran out. The well-oiled machine had to honor his check and they readily nominated him to represent the Lynn-Nahant congressional district, but he was defeated by Lovering, in spite of all the assistance Theodore Roosevelt could give him in the campaign. The *Boston Advertiser* reported with ironical humor that Roosevelt, speaking at a Lodge rally, praised Lodge as "one of the most conspicuous examples of independent republicanism." Lodge stuck to his job as chairman of the Republican State Committee through another year, and then, as the next congressional elections approached in what seemed might be a year more favorable to the Republicans, he made ready for another try for Congress. Some shrewd observers declared that Lodge had already set his sights higher; Congress was to be a step towards the Senate.

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[7] Schriftgiesser, *Lodge*, 85.

This Commonwealth had a great record in the Senate, which at that time was still regarded as a rich man's club with a chance of long tenure. Admission was by approval of the dominant party in each state, as expressed technically by its representatives in the legislature, but actually behind them by the managers of the party, who saw to it that in senatorial-election years their party's nominees for the legislature held sound views as to the senatorship. The managers of the party in Massachusetts at that time were not all officeholders or ex-officeholders. Along with the governor and ex-governors, senators, and representatives, the collector of the port, state and federal judges, were well-heeled businessmen and people who controlled important newspapers.

In the spring of 1886 the situation was this: Senator Hoar's term ran to 1891; Senator Dawes's second term would expire in 1887; already political gossip buzzed over a probable contest for his seat. Dawes had had a long career as leader of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress, as chairman of the appropriations committee and of the ways and means committee in the House, and had even been a prominent candidate for the Speakership when Blaine was elected to that post. On top of this, he had had two full terms in the Senate and he represented, and had the backing of, the people of the western part of the state.

But there was also Governor Robinson, from Chicopee, who had served admirably as the spearhead of the Republican and Independent victory over Ben Butler. Many thought that at the conclusion of his current term as governor, Robinson deserved promotion. He was, however, not an ambitious politician. Besides being popular, he was so notably regular as to be acceptable to the Old Guard as a compromise candidate on whom they could fall back if the sentiment for shelving Dawes became too strong to be resisted. This sentiment was not entirely a matter of dissatisfaction with his personality or his legislative record. It was simply evidence of the spirit of unrest which pervaded the ranks of the younger Republicans, resentful of the constraining hands of the Old Guard. The Republican defeat in the national election in 1884 through the defection of the Mugwumps should have been a warning to the state Republican leadership, but this warning was hidden from their eyes by the success of their candidates on local tickets. Lodge saw the weak spots in the armor of the Old Guard. He saw also that many of those who had bolted from the party in 1884 might be won back to it under new management. The coming senatorial election by the legislature to be chosen in November, 1886, offered a propitious moment to drive a wedge in the organization without leaving the party. And he saw in the ex-governor and current congressman from Hingham, John D. Long, a man made-to-order for his attack.

John D. Long had served in the General Court several terms as representative from the Hingham district, three years of these as speaker of the House. He had been elected and reëlected governor by increased majorities. He held his congressional district in the hollow of his hand. His nomination was sometimes by acclamation. His election and reëlection political journalists always regarded as assured. Aside from the prestige of officeholding, he was sought after as a speaker at all sorts of functions. The best characterization I have found of John D. Long comes from an experienced political observer, Samuel L. Powers. In his chapter on "Four Governors: Long, Russell, Guild, and McCall," Powers writes of Long:

> For forty years, from the time he was Speaker of the Massachusetts House, to the day of his death, he [Long] was a popular idol of the great majority of our people. This immense popularity came to him without the seeking. He did nothing to stimulate it. It is true he filled important public positions, and performed his official duties exceptionally well. That, however, does not account for the deep affection which people entertained for him. *He was not a leader in any popular public reform.* He supported the temperance and woman's suffrage reforms at a time when they were unpopular with the large majority of our citizens. . . . He did the work that came to his hand quietly and well, without seeking publicity of any kind. He was a quiet man, always in love with his home and his books. There was in his nature a quality which Doctor Eliot describes as "an abiding love and good-will to all mankind." . . . He was a man of strong sympathies, and they were easily stirred. *His conduct in life was in no sense artificial;* he followed his natural impulses.[8]

Such was the man whom the political fates, at a critical moment, had bracketed with Henry Cabot Lodge. How Lodge was regarded at this point in his career shows often enough in the press campaign literature on the many occasions when he ran for office. At his death he was eulogized officially for this Society by Charles G. Washburn,[9] but what George William Curtis thought will appear later.

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[8] Samuel Leland Powers, *Portraits of a Half Century* (Boston, 1925), 128–129: italics mine.

From early in the year 1886, Long's file of letters received and his scrapbook clippings show many letters from friends and admirers and editors or political correspondents of newspapers outside the control of the G.O.P. leaders, which indicate a widespread desire that Long come out openly as a senatorial candidate—at least so far as to authorize his friends to organize a movement for solid support for his nomination by the Republican members of the General Court. Most consistent of Long's supporters was Barrett of the *Boston Daily Advertiser.* This paper had been an anti-Blaine sheet and assumed an attitude of independence in opposition to the policy of the *Boston Journal* of reflecting the opinions of the G.O.P. high command. The most active support for Dawes came from the *Journal* and from the *Worcester Spy.* The latter was said to be controlled by Adin Thayer.

Neither the Long Papers in our hands nor such of the Lodge Papers as are open to inspection (1951) give us much of their direct correspondence. The brief notes tell little except that, at least as early as May, Henry Cabot Lodge was definitely backing Long in opposition to Dawes or Robinson. More revealing are the letters to Long from Burden, of South Attleboro, a strong opponent of the Old Guard, retailing his conversations with Lodge on this same subject of Long's candidacy. Lodge frequently sought interviews with Long inconspicuously and definitely not in Long's office. In May he had invited Long to "lunch here [where?] at 2: I should be delighted to see you and we could talk in peace." In June, Lodge, more voluble than usual, writes: "I have many matters to talk over with you and I hope you will let me know when you are in town. The senatorship looks more promising than I had supposed possible—all sorts of things are working in *our* favor."[10]

An important move in the strategy against Dawes was to defeat the scheme to place Dawes himself in the chairmanship of the state committee, which would be organizing the Republican state campaign for the November elections. Long's friends urged that he should not appear personally in this matter in opposition to Dawes, but that someone else known to be friendly to Long's cause should be run. Lodge readily agreed to be such a man, and on July 17 Burden could write to Long from South Attleboro:

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[9] *Proceedings,* LVIII. 324–376.

[10] Long Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society: italics mine.

> Lodge is elected chairman. No other man, or combination could have prevented the election of Mr. Dawes. . . . Your name had not been mentioned in connection with the matter, but as I expected it is heralded as a Long victory. My judgment is that the *Globe* has it about right when it says you made a *long* stride (no joke intended) in the direction of the Senate chamber yesterday. I shall write Lodge suggesting the propriety of keeping very quiet now for a little, especially as to senatorial matters.[11]

On July 12, Barrett, of the *Boston Daily Advertiser,* wrote Long:

> As regards the senatorship there is not much being said. Everybody understands that there will be two candidates in the fall and when the campaign opens, I think that you will find that a vigorous effort will be made for you. But as I have already said to you why a man with the wealth of resource as well as wealth of another kind which you possess, with a pleasant home and a happy family should get very anxious over politics is more than I can understand.

On August 2, Burden wrote that he had seen Lodge and continued: "We think it best to have a conference with you at the earliest time you can conveniently arrange a plan for reaching the republican primaries on the Senatorial question." A note in the scrapbook refers to a conference at Lodge's office and appoints a time, probably August 12, 1886.

In the following weeks Long's correspondence was fairly flooded with letters from various parts of the state reporting individuals or groups who were prepared to support him. At the same time the Dawes press was warming up to the subject of the senatorship by extolling Dawes's great value in the Senate, his long career previously in the House, and the injustice of shelving a man with so fine a record. The leader of the attack on Long was Adin Thayer's paper, the *Worcester Spy.* The line it took week after week is consistent with the speeches made by Thayer, Hoar, and Beard at several important dinners of Republicans in the weeks preceding the November campaign, and even following it. For example, on August 30, the *Spy* said: "It is scarcely legitimate to insist at this time that the people have made up their minds that they will have Mr. Long and that Mr. Dawes can only be reëlected through the success of political intrigue to deprive the people of their choice." It goes on to argue that Dawes's age should

[11] *Ibid.*

not be used against him, as there are many useful senators as old as Dawes; that he is the acknowledged leader in Congress of those trying to improve the lot of the Indians.

On September 6, the *Spy* took pleasure in commenting on Judge Adin Thayer's address at the Massachusetts Club on September 4. After warning the party against bossism and denying the charge that young men were being kept out of political office, Thayer had said, in regard to possible issues:

> Temperance, woman's rights, and labor, in all of which I have a deep and abiding interest, but which, though largely political in their nature, should never be made partisan issues. The Republican party has always had the capacity to reform from within, and has always encouraged the most searching criticism either from within or without.

Thayer went on to declare that there had been no question of personal leadership raised until the Butler campaign of 1881:

> His example was bad, for it tempted men to build up booms for candidates. This is always mischievous and detrimental to the interests of the party. Every man worthy of confidence has his friends and supporters, and there is an entirely legitimate way of bringing his claims before the public; but the allegiance of both leader and follower is due primarily to principles and not to men. . . . I should be sorry to see the older men stay away [from party meetings] on the theory that they had been passed over and were no longer useful . . . and I am sorry also that some young men seem to have got the idea that there is some sort of a conspiracy to keep them from promotion, but there never was a more absurd notion.

By September, Lodge was definitely acting as Long's strategist, thereby incurring the wrath of the Old Guard. Writing from Nahant, September 21, 1886, he shows the consummate strategist at work while the primary caucuses were on. He suggests some key men whom Long should secure:

> I think you ought to see George Crocker without delay. He can do much for you in Wards 10 and 11 [in Boston]. . . . In good time you ought to see Bates. He must be ripe to come in very soon and you are the only person to speak with him with perfect effect. . . . I think you ought to come as a delegate from Hingham to the State Convention and I wish it could be arranged that you should move the nomination of Mr. Ladd or someone on the State ticket. . . . You see I am frank. We did well in Boston last night, Jordan's success is a great opening victory. Boardman will I suppose be nominated and is I believe for you. Kimball carried the Chelsea delegates and is strong for you. All the indications are good but we must work steadily. I do not think their attacks on you and me hurt us or help

> them. It does not make votes to call you "someone 48 years old" or me "a political bunco steerer." As we are winning we can laugh.

Again, on September 24, Lodge wrote to Long:

> I have spoken to Bishop and I think that while he is for you he is unwilling to take an active part. A word from you to Crocker would I am sure be all sufficient. Please remember that I am counting on you for one or two speeches in my district—Lynn and Chelsea—probably.

The last sentence and the following item indicate that in return for such strategic advice Lodge, according to a letter of October 15, expected Long's support in his own campaign for Congress. "When you come to Lynn on the 21st please remember that you are to spend the night with me." Lodge clearly wished to capitalize on Long's popularity as a speaker. Meanwhile, Long hung back in his own campaign—refusing to declare himself a candidate until Governor Robinson had declined to run. It seems as if Lodge, Burden, and Burdett, who were pushing Long's candidacy, were impatient at his hesitation.

In Long's files are memoranda, not easily identifiable, initialed or unsigned and apparently sent by a few well-wishers or busybodies such as seek occasion to open correspondence with a popular figure like Long. In them are dark hints that Long should not trust Lodge's apparent support in the senatorial contest—that he should be on guard against Adin Thayer's power to bring Lodge to heel in support of Dawes with the bait that Dawes would stay in for just one term more at most, by which time Lodge himself would deserve the succession. Should a younger man such as Robinson or Long now replace Dawes, Lodge would have a long time to wait—Senator Hoar's position being regarded as impregnable.

Judge Thayer died in 1888. Many researchers have sought his papers and are convinced that none survived his death, or, at any rate, the death of his son some years later. Nevertheless, the latter's widow was persuaded to show the only scrap of written evidence which she said remained. It is a longhand letter from Lodge to Thayer, dated July 22. If this letter was written in 1886, Long's meeting in Boston with Lodge probably occurred about the same day on which some of Thayer's friends met in behalf of Dawes. Such was the report in the political gossip columns of some contemporary newspapers.[12]

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[12] This letter was unearthed for me by my friend, Charles I. Foster, when he was working

There are reports also that about that time Lodge was being disciplined for his close association with the Long movement in defiance of the known wishes of Thayer, Beard, *et al.* The episode Burden describes—Lodge's election over Dawes as chairman of the Republican State Committee on July 17—may have made it imperative for Lodge, as chairman, to confer with the old judge, reputed to be the strategist of the Dawes and Hoar alliance. Furthermore, there is a peculiar reticence and guarded quality in Long's very few letters to Lodge which do not accord with his usual frank and unpremeditated way of writing. Long acceded to Lodge's importunities to speak for his congressional candidacy in his Essex district, and he promptly congratulated Lodge on his election to Congress that year, but Long showed little of his usual warmth.

Long had some canny advisers; Burden and Burdett of the *Advertiser* were no tyros in politics. It is possible that Long suspected that Lodge was using him as a stalking horse to test the strength of the Old Guard organization. The way in which Long's reputed majority support in the new legislature evaporated in the last week before the election—the readiness with which they gave in to the Dawes men when the showdown on the caucus came—indicates a lack of the managerial skill such as Lodge had hitherto provided, or unusual pressure from Adin Thayer, or both. In any case, as things turned out, Lodge lost little if any prestige by the failure of Long's campaign. It had at least shown up the Elder Statesmen as out of sympathy with the very men upon whom the Republican party had to rely for its future.

Until the November elections were over, newspaper interest and

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in the American Antiquarian Society. He was allowed by Mrs. Charles M. Thayer, widow of the son of the old judge, to make a copy of it:

Private

July 22 [*1886?*]

[Pencil notation: "From Senator Henry Cabot Lodge"]

Dear Sir:

I am very anxious to have the benefit of your advice and Experience on a point of great importance in the coming campaign and I should like to have a talk with you on that account. I am going away for a few days but I shall be in Boston on Saturday and will meet you anywhere at any hour if you could be in town on that day without inconvenience. Please address me at Nahant. Excuse my troubling you but the matter is of great importance and I know no one who can advise me on it so well as yourself.

Truly Yours
H. C. LODGE

Honorable ADIN THAYER

activity by the Old Guard were not centered on the senatorial contest. But by December, it was evident that the members-elect of the state legislature were being canvassed very carefully and public opinion was being roused by the *Boston Journal* on one side and the *Advertiser* on the other. In the arguments for Long or Dawes, there is no serious consideration of national issues. Both men were regarded as good tariff men, although Long was urged from time to time by his friends to come out more positively on the Mills Bill—not because of the merits of the case, but for the purpose of denying to the Dawes men the privilege of questioning Long's sound tariff views. Similarly, Long was urged to undercut Dawes's monopoly of the issue of "friend of the American Indian," and to be active in support of the Hatch Bill, which would promote the establishment of agricultural stations in various states. There seemed to be no campaign material for either of them in the currency question or in civil-service reform. It is interesting to note that Long expressed more vehemently than Lodge when they were both speaking at the same dinner, his humiliation over the supine attitude of the national administration toward what he regarded as infringement of the rights of New England fishermen off the Canadian shores. To all appearances Long's candidacy was going well, and Lodge and Burden were his most ardent workers and strategists. The opposition led by the *Journal* and the *Worcester Spy* became brisk. Lodge had not yet hit his stride as a twister of the lion's tail.

It soon became evident that if the choice of a senator were left to popular vote, Long would win. It was also fairly clear that if a direct vote of the Republican members of the legislature could have been taken soon after the November elections were over, such a caucus, if made binding, would insure the nomination of Long, and, in view of the Republican majority in the legislature, his election. It was, therefore, the strategy of the Dawes men to prevent the holding of a Republican legislative caucus and, if possible, to introduce into the picture a third candidate, who, if a caucus were unavoidable, would split the vote. Such a man, as we have seen, was Governor Robinson. Long's friends tried again and again to secure from the governor a categorical statement as to whether he would or would not allow himself to become a candidate. We have Burden's word for it that the governor had written a statement to this effect as early as November 24, but had been persuaded by Beard to withhold it until after his term expired.

This would prevent many legislators who were on the fence from committing themselves irrevocably to Long and give Thayer and Beard time to exert more pressure.

Immediately after Governor Ames's inauguration the *Boston Journal* turned its guns on Long. The membership of the new legislature was now known, and both senatorial candidates were counting noses. Now was the time to argue the Dawes-Long question. In an editorial of January 8, 1887, the *Journal* asked: "Is faithful service a disqualification for office?" and quoted a special correspondent of the *Fall River News* to the effect that the present Long boom is "part of a wider plan to defeat Hoar when his term expires two years hence." Again, on January 12: "Why Displace Dawes?" "Is Long better fitted to act on tariff, coinage, banking system or problems of industry and finance?" On January 15 came an extended editorial for Dawes, with a survey of the senatorial contests in Massachusetts since 1870. On January 18 the editor quoted Judge Storey on the desirability of permanency of tenure in the Senate, adding opinions of his fellow-senators in praise of Dawes.

More and more the Dawes press emphasized two points: first, Long had recently been reëlected to Congress from the Hingham district. Were he to resign his seat on being chosen to supplant Dawes in the Senate, there was grave concern that in a special election in that district the Knights of Labor would turn the tide to the Democratic candidate against anyone the Republicans could put up other than Long. Why should Massachusetts Republicans lose a seat in Congress which they are now sure of for the sake of substituting Long, however able, for Dawes, whose Republicanism was well tested?

Elijah Morse, Republican congressman from the Canton district, wrote Long on November 11, 1886, that this was serious: ". . . certainly no Republican who could not command the labor vote [could be elected]. . . . I owe my election to the Massachusetts Senate both times, to my record on the labor question and to the votes of the Knights." And on November 13: "If it can be known and understood that a special election (almost certain to elect a Democrat) will not be necessary, it will improve your chances for the Senate immensely."[13] The other point was the question of a legislative caucus to combine Republican support for one nominee—to be elected in a joint session of both houses. The chief Boston papers attempted to draw from the history of senatorial contests precedents favorable to their candidates—the *Journal* and the *Advertiser* arriving at contrary results.

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[13] Long Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Very early in the campaign the Long men had urged a caucus, and almost at once the Dawes men had countered, and by the time the elections were over this question seemed to be the crux of the contest. It left the impression that Dawes feared a show-down, and hoped for machine pressures to whip the legislators into line—if possible for Dawes—if not, for Robinson. Local journals reported efforts by Dawes men to prevent county, city, or even ward conventions from passing resolutions committing their nominees to Long. Nevertheless, Long's files show several letters from friends in various towns assuring him in November and December that the elected legislators were virtually pledged to him. There is no evidence that even the Dawes men charged Long with having canvassed the Republican candidates for the legislature, giving or withholding his support according to their alleged preference for himself or Dawes. In fact, Long was often blamed by his more ardent supporters for refraining from doing just this. No such restraint, we shall see, inhibited Lodge, when, in 1893, he set out to assure himself the seat in the Senate which Dawes was about to vacate.

On December 27 a meeting of the Dawes strategy board was held at Joseph H. Walker's house in Worcester; we do not know what decisions were taken in that "smoke-filled room," but political reporters surmised that a determined effort would be made to block a caucus and to encourage in doubtful legislators the idea that Robinson was still a possibility. At any rate, the high point in Long's chances passed at about this time, and we hear less of Lodge's activity in Long's behalf.

A correspondent using the pen name "Henry" in the *Boston Evening Traveler* on January 3, 1887, after summarizing Long's career, wrote in regard to precedents for a caucus:

> When Hoar came up in 1882 for re-election he was opposed by Crapo, but John D. Long was in no sense a candidate, although some Republican legislators who opposed Hoar backed Crapo and some backed Long. . . . Butler, as titular head of the Democratic party, would have encouraged the Democrats to vote for anyone other than Hoar and so, on Butler's advice, enough Democratic Senators voted for Long to elect him so far as the Senate vote was concerned. If Long had

> said he was a candidate, all Democrats in the Lower House would have voted for him, which would have ensured his election. But Long refused. . . .
>
> If the *Journal* now wishes to get Democrats to support Dawes it should do so openly and not cover it by claiming that Long did so in 1883.

It became apparent that the Old Guard had no intention of letting their grip on the party organization depend on the outcome of the senatorial contest. At a dinner of the Republican state committee, Beard said:

> It is essential that this question of who shall be Senator from Massachusetts in U. S. Congress should not enter into the organization of your committee. . . . There should be no claim made when the election [of the state committee] takes place that this man's man or that man's man has been elected. And you can avoid all that by postponing your organization until that Senatorial election takes place.

To which Governor Robinson replied:

> A party should run on its principles—not on its men—unless they stand for those principles. It is well to think of these things, because if any party becomes simply the instrument for the advancement of a man, it has not any hold upon anybody except the friends of that person. . . . And I think we ought to regard with some reluctance any movement that forestalls far in advance what a party will do, simply because it may seem to be in the interests of some one man or candidate that he preoccupy the field. . . . Opposition to one can be inspired only by a disposition to make a democratic alliance.

According to the *Advertiser* of December 31, 1886:

> Dawes, Beard, and Thayer have previously always been caucus men. Dawes's leading newspaper supporter, the *Journal*, has always advocated a caucus. This year it has not done so, but it will; and it can do so in no better language than that which we elsewhere copy from its files of four years ago.

In the next column the *Advertiser* quoted the *Journal* for January 9, 1882:

> Shall the next Senator be the free choice of Republicans as expressed by the large majority of their number, or shall he be chosen for the Republicans by their enemies? We want a Republican Senator, chosen by Republican voters, and we believe that any other result than this would be a misfortune to the Party and to the State.[14]

Following is an editorial which appeared in the *Advertiser* for January 6, 1887:

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[14] The *Boston Journal*, January 9, 1882.

Tactics of Desperation

It is an unfair charge that Mr. Dawes' friends are making that Long is ambitiously seeking the Senatorship. No more so, all fair-minded men will say, than is Mr. Dawes, or than Mr. Hoar in 1883. Mr. Long did not put himself into this contest. He was urged to allow his name to be used because his friends believed determined resistance should be made to Mr. Dawes' continuance in the Senate. Had Governor Robinson not determined to retire to private life, he would now be the candidate; for Mr. Long refused to allow his name to be used until it was settled that Governor Robinson would not enter the contest.

Governor Long is not "ambitious" to force himself upon an unwilling constituency. He is not aiming at democratic coalitions. His friends are not trying to introduce a row into this matter. They ask for a caucus, in order that a majority of the Republican members may settle the matter at once, and by that decision they would abide. Their "ambition" consists solely in allowing the Republicans of Massachusetts to choose the next Senator without bitterness or quarrel. We are pained to say that the present attitude of Mr. Dawes' friends is not intended to further that end.

The personal attacks now being made on Mr. Long would have been poured out with equal venom upon Governor Robinson if he had been the candidate of the *progressive* men of the party.

It is not anything against Mr. Long, only spitefulness against the man who has the same "ambition" as every man who is ever elected senator—that of allowing his friends to support him for a great public office.

It is practically admitted that Mr. Dawes is not the choice of the Republicans of this state for another term. Every word and act of his supporters shows this. Their expedients are not those of men conscious of deserved success. Personal flings at Mr. Long, and the sacrifice of every Republican candidate for preferment in Massachusetts in order to afford a better basis for the "locality" plea in behalf of Mr. Dawes, are petty methods upon which to elect one who, after 12 years in the Senate, ought to have been able to command the support of a satisfied majority.

On January 7, the *Advertiser* returned to the attack:

A majority of the Republican members of the legislature have signed a call for a senatorial caucus. Included in the number are both supporters of Mr. Dawes and Mr. Long, all actuated by a desire that the majority shall nominate the senator and not carry the matter unsettled into joint convention with manoeuvrings to obtain democratic support.

In their desperation the Dawes managers have issued orders that the friends of Mr. Dawes shall take their names from the caucus call. In justice to most of them, it should be stated that they have refused to obey this. Others have acceded. The caucus will be held, but the Republicans of the State should know to what straits the Dawes men are carried in their attempt to defeat the choice of the majority and to carry this election, in the interests of their candidate, into the legislature in order to secure democratic votes.

On January 6, the *Advertiser* was rejoicing that a caucus was assured and that Noyes, the new speaker of the House, was considered a Long man. Nevertheless, Tinker, a federal officeholder, who had become manager of the Dawes headquarters, declared to reporters on January 8 that as the call for a caucus had been signed chiefly by Long men, the Dawes men would refuse to go into the caucus because it was to be managed by Long's supporters. "There hasn't been a senatorial caucus for some years, and we won't have one now—we won't be bound by it." On January 10 there was a "conference" of Republican legislators to fix a date for the caucus, but when the motion was put, Kent, of Worcester, one of Adin Thayer's men, objected—unless the desire for a caucus was practically unanimous. Gile, also of Worcester, offered an amendment substituting the word "conference" for "caucus." This proved to be the turning point, and Long's chances were lost through a lack of aggressive leadership, when Parkman, reputedly for Long, accepted this amendment. In the form of a motion for a further "conference" it was carried unanimously. The Dawes men were jubilant. No further chance of a caucus occurred.[15]

Meanwhile the Democrats, led by Dawes's law partner, Crosby, from Pittsfield, had decided, apparently after a conference with Thayer, and Tinker, and Beard, that at the joint session on the first vote the full Democratic strength would go to their candidate, Patrick A. Collins, and then, if Dawes had mustered as many as the 75 Republican votes necessary—with the full Democratic votes to make a majority—they would swing at once to Dawes.

In the House on the first ballot out of a total vote of 234: Collins polled 80; Dawes, 65; Long, 44; Robinson, 44; and J. E. Russell, 1. In the Senate, with 20 necessary for a choice: Dawes polled 11; Long, 12; Collins, 14; and Robinson, 2. Then Alger, a Democrat from Melrose, asked, as the balloting was proceeding, to change his vote from Collins to Dawes, and at once the whole Democratic vote was switched to Dawes. The final result was Dawes, 181; Long, 26; Robinson, 57; Collins, 11; and J. E. Russell, 1.

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[15] In January, 1957, a strangely similar case occurred. The election of November, 1956, brought twenty-one Republicans into the state senate, and nineteen Democrats. Two Republicans were rivals for election as president of the senate—Newland H. Holmes, of Weymouth, and Philip A. Graham, of Hamilton. Graham held the support of sixteen Republicans, including himself. John E. Powers, of South Boston, leader of the Democrats, preferred Holmes to Graham, and demonstrated his ability to make his choice prevail, because Holmes refused to be bound by the majority vote of the Republican senators.

On the first ballot, Powers won the support of all nineteen Democrats; and Graham had fifteen Republicans, and Holmes six. After a lengthy Democratic caucus called by Powers, all the Democrats, save four, voted for Holmes on the second ballot, and Holmes was elected by a vote of twenty to nineteen. *Boston Daily Globe,* January 3, 1957.

In spite of the fact that Dawes had lacked at least eight votes of a majority, the *Boston Journal* declared on January 19: "Dawes had a majority of Republican votes anyway and so cannot be charged with owing his office to a deal with the Democrats." The *Worcester Daily Telegram* (a paper in opposition to the *Worcester Spy*) carried the headline: "Boston boodlers elect a Republican Senator." The *Boston Advertiser*, January 19, alleged that the price of the votes of the Democrats was the promise of a free hand in legislation in regard to Boston, with which the western Republicans could not be expected to concern themselves. An editorial in the *Boston Advertiser*, January 20, 1887, declared:

> Yesterday Mr. Dawes was re-elected Senator, a compliment which would be a more notable one under other circumstances. This year for the first time since the Republican Party gained control of Massachusetts, a Senator owes his election to the Democratic minority. . . . On the first roll call Mr. Dawes received 76 out of 182 Republican votes. He was still a minority candidate. Suddenly in accordance with a formal vote to that effect in their caucus, the Democrats changed to him as fast as they could be recognized, and by their support he was given a substantial majority and for the first time in years the regular caucus nominee of the Democrats was chosen Senator from this State. . . . Only four years since, the suggestion that Democrats be allowed to decide between Republican candidates provoked a well-merited outburst of disapproval. None were more outspoken than Mr. Dawes and the men who have managed his last candidacy. . . . Two reasons are given by the Democrats for their action: one, that the election of Mr. Dawes is the best result to aid future Democratic success, and the other that the arrangement does not end with the senatorship, but that substantial future legislative favors are to follow. . . . Such efforts [by Dawes's friends] in the Democratic choice of a Republican senator are not likely to be merely temporary in their effects. They immeasurably cheapen a great office and they lower the standard of political morals, of which hitherto the Republicans of Massachusetts have boasted.

At a dinner given by Ranney, Dawes said that those who were of a different party and supported him did so, of course, without any expectation that he would depart from his Republican party principles. Long, like a good sport, attended the dinner and wryly remarked something to the effect that one does not expect the corpse to rejoice at its own obsequies.

Long returned to his seat in Congress for one last term before retiring. Lodge had joined him in Congress in 1887. During the next four years Lodge attended pretty strictly to his job as congressman and suffered no inhibitions as a freshman in seizing favorable opportunities to make a name for himself as a hard worker, and an indomitable partisan for measures which were generally popular at home. The exception was his championing of some of the most jingoistic moves made by either Carlisle or Blaine—and his sponsorship of the Force Bill. On both scores he deeply offended his old liberal friends, and on the former he antagonized State Street bankers with London connections. These years were marked by his growing intimacy with Tom Reed and his personal antagonism to Joe Cannon.

Meanwhile, things had not been going well for the Old Guard in Massachusetts. The success of Harrison on the tariff issue injected by Cleveland in the 1888 campaign awakened little enthusiasm here except among the Home Market Club, who were already committed to the G.O.P. Too many Independents and Mugwumps had become either Free Traders or were disgusted by the McKinley Bill and the compromises on the Silver Purchase Bill which were designed to secure votes for the tariff and the admission of new states.

Under the skillful leadership of the new Democratic leader, William Eustis Russell, in alliance with such Independents as George Fred Williams, Nathan Matthews, Josiah Quincy, Wheelwright, Storey, *et al.*, the Massachusetts Republicans were hard pressed. Roger Wolcott's Young Men's Republican Club was revived in 1890 to attempt to counteract the activities of the Young Men's Democratic Club—a very successful organization. Long lent his aid willingly to these efforts to rehabilitate the party. He refused to allow his name to be presented to the Republican senatorial caucus as a candidate in opposition to Senator Hoar, but he received five votes, nevertheless.

When, in 1890, the Democrats swept the state with William Eustis Russell, and many Republican congressmen lost their seats to Democrats and Mugwumps, Lodge won reëlection in his own district over William Everett. This gave him a sense of security. He had maintained his place when the Old Guard had been driven from state and federal posts—a trend which might have been foreseen from 1884 on. Now was his opportunity to wrest from them the leadership of the party. Mr. Schriftgiesser states: "Lodge began his undercover campaign immediately after the second state-wide defeat of his party in 1891. In that year he was among the most outspoken critics of the State Committee." Burdett was ousted from the chairmanship to make room for Lodge's friend, Eben S. Draper, a leading spirit in the Home Market Club. Profiting by his experience in the Long-for-Senate campaign, he forced through the state convention a resolution favoring settlement of the senatorial question by a caucus of the Republican legislators in November—three months before the election of a senator could take place.

Contrary to the hesitant course which Long had pursued in similar circumstances in 1886, Lodge boldly canvassed the whole state to promote the nomination in Republican caucuses of men committed—or at least favorable—to his candidacy. Once they were nominated, he pushed their election in every district where success against a Democrat was possible. George William Curtis, in the leading editorial in *Harpers Weekly* for January 21, 1893, declared:

> He induced the Republican State Convention to pass a resolution instructing the Republican members of the Legislature to hold, *for the first time in the history of the State*, a caucus for nomination of a U. S. Senator; he set up the pins and laid the wires for the election of members favorable to himself; he brought about the holding of a "snap" caucus even before the Legislature was organized, outdoing our own Hills and Murphys and he thus effected his nomination and election as a Senator of the United States.

Enough Republicans were elected to assure the success of their caucus nominee without Democratic support. Lodge was chosen 29 to 10 in the Senate, and 160 to 69 in the House.

In the spring of 1892—the year in which Lodge was perfecting his plans for succeeding Dawes—Long's name began popping up as a possible candidate for that seat. He was supported by the *Boston Gazette* (April 2), and the *Brooklyn Standard Union* (April 3). Again on August 29, the *Boston Gazette* bracketted Long with Dawes, Barrett, Lodge, and Crapo as senatorial timber. During September the *Springfield Republican*, *Boston Journal*, *Berkshire Courier* and *Somerville Citizen* all spoke of Long for the senatorship. But on October 10, the *Boston Journal* carried the announcement that Long had definitely refused to be a candidate.

Meanwhile, Long continued to be regarded by party leaders as a valuable man to advance party plans. On April 20 he was selected to present Murray Crane's name as one of the Massachusetts delegates to the Republican Convention at Minneapolis. On June 11 Long came out for Harrison against either Blaine or McKinley, but when it came to the convention he spoke for Senator Edmunds—a speech reminiscent of 1884. By December, however, Lodge had the senatorial nomination nailed down, and his financial backer, Eben S. Draper, was given a dinner at which Long presided. In the posts of honor were Speaker William E. Barrett, Lieutenant-Governor-elect Roger Wolcott, Congressman Joseph H. Walker, and Lodge.[16]

It is evident from Long's letter of congratulation that Lodge had pestered him to help his senatorial ambitions as he had done in his campaign in 1886, and later still, for the Essex seat in Congress:

Boston, July 6, 1893

Dear Lodge,

Yours received. You have my congratulations and good wishes. I am sure you will fill the place.

I am sure too you now agree that I took the right course. In the press of the contest you felt, as you said, that you wanted me to do more. I believed that my only way was to announce my exact position and then stand consistently by it. That was full justice to you and the only way in which I could be just to myself.

But there was never any doubt of your nomination.

Again my hearty good wishes.

You have had a brilliant career in the past and you have now the most fortunate vantage ground that can come to a man in political service. That you are fully equal to it is the confident belief of all your friends.

Truly yours,
J. D. Long

Mr. H. C. Lodge

In interviews immediately after Lodge's election on January 5, 1893, the *Globe* headline ran: "Ex-Governor Long speaks word of praise for Lodge." But all the interviewer got out of him was: "I had supposed Mr. Lodge would be nominated, the matter having been pretty well settled prior to the assembling of the legislature." The *Journal* reported Long thus: "I am not surprised at the result," and added as comment:

> He [Long] modestly declined to speak about the efforts made by Republicans to get him to be a candidate for senator. It is well known however that he declined the honor several months ago. He was therefore surprised that he received the five votes that he did.

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[16] *Boston Journal*, December 24, 1892.

Lodge had achieved his objective, but some sour notes were sounded in the country on receipt of the news. George William Curtis spoke up in an unsigned editorial in *Harpers* on January 21, 1893:

> Had Lodge remained true to his standards . . . he would have struggled hard to preserve the political traditions of his state; he would have fought the bitter fight to the bitter end to keep his party in Massachusetts free from machine rule . . . but instead, it was he who introduced and developed machine methods of government; he pressed upon the legislature a gerrymandering scheme from the shamelessness of which even his followers recoiled; he devoted himself to the running of caucuses and conventions like an old machine hand. Had he given the ability and time and labor he squandered in the miserable business of machine building . . . to the earnest study and treatment of public questions . . . he would then have sat in the Senate with a consciousness of dignity and independence, owing his position to his own worth, unhampered by any obligation to greedy henchmen, and free to do his best for the welfare of the people.

In spite of this, and of even rougher censure by men who had once been his friends, Lodge, in the period between his break with the Mugwumps and Independents in 1884 and his final triumph in becoming master of the G.O.P. in Massachusetts, cannot be said to have acted in accordance with the principles he proclaimed to Carl Schurz in 1884.

For us it is only fair to refer to the memoir of Lodge which was read before this Society by his life-long friend and admirer, Charles G. Washburn.[17] Theodore Roosevelt, replying in 1906, to the charge that Lodge was a "Boss" stated: "But he is a boss or head of a machine in the sense that Henry Clay and Daniel Webster were bosses and heads of political machines." And again: "In the twenty years he has been in Washington he has been the best and most useful servant of the public to be found in either house of Congress." Mr. Washburn overlooked what Theodore Roosevelt said of Lodge in the 1912 convention, or the subsequent Bull Moose campaign. But he again accepts Lodge's own *apologia pro vita sua,* quoting from his speech in Symphony Hall, Boston, January, 1911, during his last senatorial campaign for election by the legislature, in which election he narrowly escaped defeat:

> I have cherished with reverence the dignity and traditions of the great office which I held. I have never suffered them to be lowered. I will not drag them through the mire of personal controversy or soil them with the rancor of personal altercation for any reward that can be offered me.

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[17] *Proceedings,* LVIII. 324–376.

Perhaps he truly believed that by staying in the party he could frame its policies more effectively and to higher ends than the Hoar-Dawes-Beard-Thayer machine had done. Perhaps it was merely the power to do so that motivated him. Perhaps he really believed that the group of men he got to work for Long's nomination in 1886 would renovate the party so as to win back to it the eminently respectable men he had associated with before 1884. Perhaps after all he was *not* merely using Long as a cat's-paw without really caring whether Long won or not.

Grover Cleveland as Seen by his Stenographer

July, 1892—November, 1895

ROBERT LINCOLN O'BRIEN[1]

IN telling of my personal relations with Grover Cleveland, I may well start by answering the question of how I happened to have any relations with him at all—how I happened to be at Buzzard's Bay on July 5, 1892, when Cleveland began to prepare his speech of acceptance for his third nomination for the presidency, the speech which he delivered later in the month at Madison Square Garden, New York City. I am particularly moved to do this because his hiring me was one of the most characteristic things he ever did. Why, then, was I there?

What we now call "sales resistance" was Grover Cleveland's long suit, and I was the humble instrument by which he expressed his sales resistance to the other fellows. From that day to this people have been asking me how I happened to get this position, concocting all sorts of theories as to who pulled the strings for me. They begin with President Eliot, of Harvard College, who for the next twenty years never knew me from Adam. A great variety of plausible candidates had sought the position. There was an experienced secretary, already in the government service, the husband of a classmate of Mrs. Cleveland at Wells College, who dashed up to Buzzard's Bay immediately after the third nomination to place his service straightway at the candidate's disposal. He was much my superior in equipment; but he never got to first base. He was only invited to stay to supper. I could have told him that before he started. Moreover, one of the most opulent of Mr. Cleveland's supporters had "just the right man" whom he wanted to supply as his contribution to the success of the campaign of 1892. Now Mr. Cleveland was an exceedingly thrifty man, and never rich; yet he paid me a larger salary than I had ever before received and for the greater part of a year—or until I took my place after his inauguration as the executive clerk of the White House, then known as the Executive Mansion. It did not become the "White House" officially until Theodore Roosevelt's day.[2]

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[1] This paper was read at the February, 1951, meeting.

Why did the presidential candidate hire me instead of taking one of these other men as free gifts? Sheerly to retain his independence. As I said before, I was an instrument in its expression. I put this experience in first place not only for chronological reasons but as forming the basis of what I derived from my contacts with him. This was fifty years before F. D. Roosevelt asked for assistants with "a passion for anonymity." That was the commodity of which I was possessed of an oversupply. The one friend of mine, John B. Smith, father of Edson B. Smith, financial editor of the *Boston Herald*, whom Cleveland happened to consult, told me to go to Buzzard's Bay to talk it over with him. When I arrived Cleveland said to his wife, "Mr. O'Brien has come," with the evident purpose of setting me to work at once without any discussion of qualifications. I lived with the family, three meals a day, and made many trips with Cleveland during which time I was his only companion, when he could have had a score of distinguished personages with him—had he so desired.

When he got to Buzzard's Bay, just after his third nomination, he learned that the townspeople had decided to stage a reception in his honor. When a young lawyer came to make the arrangements, Cleveland promptly asked him who was to make the speech of introduction. He was given the name of a retired Episcopal minister with whom he associated on very friendly terms. Cleveland objected: "I don't want him to do it. I want you." This was a measurably correct intuition. Perhaps he had in mind Mr. Blaine's experience with the Reverend Samuel Dickinson Burchard.

I was one of the seven persons who sat down to the so-called "reconciliation dinner" which Mr. William C. Whitney arranged in New York to bring the local organization into line with their candidate for the presidency. Present were Edward Murphy, the so-called "Blue-Eyed Billy" Sheehan, and Richard Croker, the head of Tammany Hall, who on his way out—I was told—said to his two associates: "This situation is not too bad; this man never does anything for his friends; we are not his friends; he may do something for us." The meeting was not an astounding success. It left Cleveland standing firmly on his own ground without making any concessions. His associates, Whitney and Don McD. Dickinson of Michigan, who had been postmaster general in his first Cabinet, did what they could to pour oil on the troubled waters. But I must get back to Buzzard's Bay.

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[2] As early as 1886, however, Cleveland himself used the term "White House" informally:

Executive Mansion
Washington, May 28, 1886

My dear Mr. Endicott:

My marriage to Miss Folsom will take place next Wednesday evening (June 2d), in the White House, at seven o'clock.

Will you and Mrs. Endicott afford me the pleasure of your presence on the occasion?

Hoping that in this grave crisis I may have the support of my official family, I am

Yours sincerely
Grover Cleveland

Hon. Wm. C. Endicott
Secretary of War

Endicott Papers: Massachusetts Historical Society.

Cleveland, as I have said, was working on his speech of acceptance. He had written out in his own little cramped hand in a provisional draft these words in allusion to the violence that had been recently provoked by the Homestead Strike in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh: "Scenes are enacted in the very abiding place of protection which mock the hopes of toil." Having my nerve with me, I asked why he did not say "high protection" instead of merely "protection" in order not to put himself in apparent opposition to any tariff that did more than provide revenue. He took my advice. Thus revised he recited it at the notification as I held his manuscript ready to prompt him if at any time his memory failed. But it never did—there or elsewhere. This incident is worth noting only in that I, just one year out of Harvard, had modified an expression of his opinion at a time when the great statesmen of the country could do nearly nothing in that line. There was Samuel J. Tilden, former governor of New York, and just eight years before Cleveland's first presidential canvass the nearly triumphant nominee of the same political party. Tilden was everywhere looked upon as a sage. Yet George F. Parker, the lifelong chronicler of Cleveland's doings, wrote in his later years that he had never in his lifetime even seen Tilden. I wrote to Parker at once that in saying this he was wrong—that in the first presidential campaign Cleveland formally called on Tilden in his home, and that incidentally in his campaign for governor in 1882, he had written to Tilden a courteous letter, unfortunately no longer extant, which made quite clear that the candidate purposed to "paddle his own canoe" and would not be known as the Tilden protégé, even though both men had belonged ancestrally to the same wing in the historic party. Parker agreed with me, eventually.

But my triumph was threatened with short life. Somebody told me that later Cleveland had, in an official version of this speech, struck out the adjective "high" and reverted to his original text. In my preparation of this paper I made diligent search to see if this was true. An eminent historical scholar connected with the Library of Congress reported to me that the staff there could find no version of the speech without the significant adjective "high." He referred me, however, to a possible source of further information in the Dartmouth College Library. There, Professor Herbert F. West, whose book reviews one sees often in the Sunday *New York Times*, made a thorough investigation in my behalf only to come to the same conclusion—that my textual change *did* prevail.

This will seem important only to the extent that one realizes Cleveland's amazing tenacity of purpose. His own intuitions were markedly accurate, and he trusted them against all comers. In "sales resistance," as I have said, he was preëminent among American statesmen. Not long after this Cleveland received a letter from William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy in his first administration, and more than anyone else the manager of his third nomination, in which Whitney reported that Edward Murphy, Jr., afterwards senator from New York over Mr. Cleveland's unavailing protest, had a beloved daughter who was sick unto death. He suggested that if Cleveland would only write Murphy a warmly sympathetic letter—and Whitney had included one of his own composition which Cleveland could copy on Buzzard's Bay stationery—it might do much to calm a situation which was occasioning great uneasiness.

The New York delegation to the recent Democratic convention had all opposed Cleveland's nomination, issuing a statement signed by all seventy-two delegates, including Samuel J. Tilden, nephew of the presidential candidate in 1876, asserting that Cleveland could not carry New York, and therefore could not be elected. When the convention under Mr. Whitney's leadership decided otherwise, these New Yorkers virtually went on a "sit-down strike" as we now call it. Their headquarters were motionless, and their sentiment was: "Let those who have nominated him now elect him." It was to correct this state of affairs that Mr. Whitney proposed a strategic display of sympathy for the New York state chairman, Edward Murphy, Jr. There was nobody in the room except Mr. Cleveland and myself. I had read the letter before he came in and passed it to him with some misgivings. If I had been running for President my transcription of the Whitney letter would have been mailed in one hour. My ethical standards have always been rather low. But I had my doubts about the "old man"—as we affectionately called him because he was fifty-five years old—a judgment which I have since somewhat modified. He read the Whitney letter and then turned to me to say, "I'll see myself in Hell first." That was Grover Cleveland all over.[3]

One Sunday evening at the time of the Chicago railroad strike, when Mr. Cleveland pushed the mails through and sent in federal troops to do it, he had to prepare a proclamation addressed to the strikers on the Northern Pacific Railroad. As the text came to me it referred to the "States and Territories" through which the road passed. I was getting ready to move for a correction when Colonel Daniel S. Lamont, Secretary of War, appeared in the lobby. I told him that all the territories along the line of that road had been admitted to the Union as states in the preceding administration: Montana, Idaho, and Washington. Lamont replied: "You cannot be right on that, O'Brien." I rejoined: "Come and look at this wall map." He promptly acknowledged the correction; whereupon I told him I had another one of nearly equal importance, which he agreed should be made for clarity's sake. He said he would see the President at once and promised to have both these changes accepted. He came back with authority for the first change, only.

The greatest job Colonel Lamont ever put over was his handling of the surgical operation for sarcoma which the President underwent in the summer of 1893 on Mr. Benedict's yacht, the *Oneida*. Mr. Benedict was the Frank Stearns of the Cleveland administration. If the real story of what happened had then become public it would have produced a sensational break in the stock market and business conditions, which were extremely sensitive at the moment. People would have seen that only the President's life stood between the country and "Free Silver," then regarded as calamitous. No new legislation would have been necessary to bring this about; we were sliding down to silver from week to week. This was before the session of Congress from which Cleveland finally obtained the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The name of this act has always seemed unjust to me because Senator Sherman said at the time that he supposed it had been fathered on him because he was the last man on the committee that could be persuaded to consent to its passage! When President Cleveland sought its repeal he had no more ardent backer than John Sherman, the long-time Republican senator from Ohio. The repeal was carried by almost exactly the same number of Republican votes as Democratic votes from Cleveland's supporters in the East.

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[3] In this connection the letter which President Cleveland wrote to the Secretary of War in his first Cabinet is of interest.

Executive Mansion
My dear Mr. Endicott: *Washington, November 5, 1886*

I am confirmed in my desire to have the offer of LL.D. omitted next Monday.

I want you to explain to President Elliot [*sic*] and the other gentlemen who have the bestowal of this honor how fully I appreciate its value and the extreme kindness which prompts its tender.

My disinclination to receive this degree is based upon a feeling which I cannot stifle and which I hope may be humored without any suspicion of lack of appreciation or churlishness.

To avoid any misapprehension I think it will be well to have it stated in the press that the conferring of this degree [was not *canceled*] will be omitted at my request.

Yours sincerely
Grover Cleveland

Endicott Papers: Massachusetts Historical Society.

Just at this critical moment, before the great battle began in the Senate, with Adlai Ewing Stevenson as vice-president of the United States, the surgeons removed an ominous growth from Cleveland's upper palate and gum, taking out six teeth with it. It was extremely necessary that the country should not know what had happened. A correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press*, who signed his dispatches "Holland," printed a hint one morning that the situation was far more serious than people realized. A gang of correspondents rushed to Buzzard's Bay. My personal impression at the time was that if ever one reporter got inside "Gray Gables" and detected the hospital odors and caught sight of Cleveland, who was just then beginning to sit up in a bathrobe, the jig would be up—for the President looked like a very sick man.

Colonel Lamont asked the newspaper fraternity, numbering over fifty, to meet him at seven o'clock in the evening in the old barn several hundred feet from "Gray Gables" in the direction of the highway. Lamont prepared the ground by having L. Clarke Davis, editor of the *Philadelphia Ledger*—who knew nothing about the case except what Lamont told him—give out a statement for simultaneous release confirming what was to be the Lamont recital. I have always believed, but without certain knowledge, that Lamont brought influence to bear upon the Associated Press to make it receptive to the conservative story which he was to tell that night to the assembled journalists. This was it. The President had a terrible dread of dentistry and had allowed necessary work to accumulate till he had finally decided to make a clean job of it, all at once. This was what had been done on Mr. Benedict's yacht. "Nothing but dentistry" was the slogan. The reporters on the way back to Buzzard's Bay that night did not know whether to believe this. One ingenious representative proposed that they should send out the scare story for one day, to justify their expense in coming so far, and leave to the next day the allaying of popular apprehension. But the conservative interests of the country did not want a sensational break in the investment market; so the Lamont story prevailed. Not until Mr. Cleveland's death fifteen years later was Dr. W. W. Keen, one of the surgeons, permitted to tell the true story, which he printed as a pamphlet. Dr. Keen told me at the time that he was in grave doubt as to whether the operation had so far accomplished its purpose that a recurrence was unlikely. Happily there was none.

Yet because this operation had great influence on Cleveland's mentality it deserves historic emphasis. The patient was a considerably different man during the years that followed. His voice was audibly affected in the opinion of those who heard him regularly. In consequence he tried to keep out of things—to get into the background. He worried more easily, and was more sensitive. The economic period was disturbing, and Cleveland was very anxious.

One incident will illustrate his disposition to dismiss things that troubled him rather peremptorily. When Mrs. Cleveland received a request from the Woman Suffragists, then in national convention in Washington, to be received by her at the White House, she told me to ask the President how this letter should be answered and then for me to reply as he directed, signing my own name. Cleveland was terribly busy when I approached him, surrounded by a lot of people pushing for attention. He did little more than shake his head and say: "Do not receive them." When my letter was read aloud to the convention, it provoked a storm of hisses, which Miss Susan B. Anthony tried to suppress by declaring that every woman must be the judge of her own responsibilities.

To dilute responsibility from Cleveland's action I must tell of an experience I had later with Theodore Roosevelt, one of the foremost champions of Woman Suffrage. At that time I was conducting a page called "What the President Thinks" in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for my long-time friend, Edward Bok. Every month I would take a different topic for pontifical discussion. I was commissioned to talk with him in the morning while he was being shaved—he was actually shaved more often than that—and then put his conclusions into my own words. Mr. Bok asked me to get him to discuss Woman Suffrage. He refused to do so, saying that when he was twenty-six years old and in the New York Legislature he had led the fight for the cause and always had been recorded in its favor. Some of his later experiences in feminine politics, however, had made him disinclined to renew the agitation. Later on, when the Bull Moose Party took Woman Suffrage for one of its planks he accepted the platform—perhaps he even wrote it. There is such a thing as a Thirty-Ninth Article.

Cleveland's objection to Woman Suffrage was a part of his fundamental desire to keep government plain, simple, and economical. Was he wrong? Under male suffrage we had to buy up only the men; now we have to buy up both sexes. Warren Gamaliel Harding was the last President who could "recognize," or reward, any exceptional political service of a lady by taking her over (after a White House dinner) to one of those southerly windows looking out on the Monument in order to tell her, and with unmistakable fervor, that she had no idea how great was his admiration for her husband—a display of feeling which led him, according to legend, to make this statement to one woman who had been a widow for ten years and to still another who might have shared the President's ardent admiration for her husband had not her journey of life been routed by way of Reno!

In personal conversation Cleveland was extraordinarily idiomatic and direct, but when he prepared anything like a state paper he had a tendency to mount polysyllabic stilts. I recall the letter he dictated declining to go to Chicago for the laying of the cornerstone for the World's Fair of 1893. President Harrison, also invited, could not go because of the serious illness of his wife, who was destined to die about two weeks before election day. In these circumstances, and as a part of his desire to keep out of things, Cleveland sent his regrets. I remember his words: "In view of the afflictive dispensation which detains by the bedside of his sick wife another candidate for the Presidency." He was the only person I ever knew to use the word "afflictive." He used it, however, at other times—once in accepting his position in the insurance clean-up after he had left the presidency. This phraseology was a hangover from his inherited Presbyterianism, to which he maintained an unmistakable loyalty. His father had been a Presbyterian minister, and he himself was named for one—Stephen Grover, his father's predecessor in the pulpit at Caldwell, New Jersey. His brother, William N. Cleveland, was also a Presbyterian minister. During vacations at Buzzard's Bay Mr. Cleveland once experienced the little Community Church long enough to find its pews narrow and uncomfortable. In Washington he was a regular attendant at the First Presbyterian Church, where Byron Sunderland preached—a "good safe man."

During Cleveland's second administration Sunderland had as an associate the Reverend T. DeWitt Talmage, whose coming was not an unmixed joy to the President. Talmage was inclined to exploit his distinguished parishioner—witness the words of a Thanksgiving Sunday sermon when he cited the great products of forest, field, and farm by linking each with its greatest producing area: the wheat of Minnesota, the corn of Kansas, and so forth, bringing the list to a climax with "the fish of Buzzard's Bay," as if that inlet of the Atlantic Ocean were the Newfoundland of the industry. Theologically, Cleveland leaned to what we now call Fundamentalism. He took little interest in the so-called "higher criticism," telling me once that if we were going to believe at all we might just as well go the whole distance! He was impervious to Unitarianism. In his later years he went to Philadelphia one Sunday afternoon to speak at a meeting of the Railway Y.M.C.A. and there delivered a genuinely evangelical sermon. He had a natural affinity for serious-minded and religious people, like E. Benjamin Andrews, president of Brown University, a Baptist minister by profession, who was one of the five persons that he took under serious consideration during the summer of 1892 for the great office of Secretary of State. He liked St. Clair McKelway, of a ministerial family, the famous editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle,* in the days of its great influence.

I recall the fake which disturbed Cleveland the most of anything that happened in the campaign of 1892. Charles Belmont Davis, brother of Richard Harding Davis, son of that L. Clarke Davis already referred to, and Rebecca Harding Davis, whose novels flooded the Abington Public Library in the last century, came to Buzzard's Bay as a representative of the *New York World*. When the other reporters wanted to make common cause with him in the exchange of news he declined because he thought his facilities for getting it through family connections would give him an inside track. In this he was disappointed. Davis happened to be the only reporter who noticed one night that Cleveland, in going out of the dining room on the Fall River boat—the way people then traveled to New York—ran into a family of friends who were just opening their champagne. The President was urged to sit down and join them, but declined. There was more than one reason for this. In the first place, he was essentially a bashful man, and knew that everybody in the dining room would be looking at him; and being of a latent gouty condition, he never drank champagne. When Charles Davis saw this, his eagerness to make the headlines led him to draw the curious inference that Cleveland had "taken the pledge," as they say in Abington, and had become a teetotaler. Davis so reported to the *New York World*.

The story ran from one end of the country to the other. The temperance people welcomed a great acquisition to the White Ribbon Army. One ribald critic wrote to him: "If you're so badly off as that why don't you take the Keeley Cure?" The more judicious middle-ground admirers wrote editorials to the effect that in view of the extra strain of the presidential canvass total abstinence at such a time was undoubtedly the course of discretion. All this was extremely disquieting to Cleveland. Letters came to him in shoals. I hardly dared to show many to him. He never knew that Charles Belmont Davis was the culprit; if he had, he probably would not have appointed him consul to Florence, a much coveted post, at the personal request of his father.

As President, Cleveland continued his forthright methods without evasion or circumlocution. One of my jobs was taking down in shorthand the long-winded appeals of senators and others in patronage cases. It was expected that I should read these statements to the President in his more leisurely hours. Under this arrangement, however, my shorthand steadily deteriorated because I got so little practice in reading my notes. I recall a newly appointed Treasurer of the United States who planned to make a great ceremony of giving the President his first monthly pay check. He took his eleven-year-old son out of school and got him a fresh haircut and a new suit of clothes. Then the two descended on the White House. The Treasurer got no further than being told to dictate to me the remarks he had expected to make and leave the pay check on the desk in an outer office! Contrast this with the warm hospitality of Calvin Coolidge under corresponding conditions. His Treasurer was received in stony silence—not a word was spoken until, as his coattails were sliding through the door on his way out, he heard this presidential directive: "Come again!"

Cleveland told me never to answer anybody who reported the naming of an animal—a pet dog or a colt—after him because he foresaw that a situation would arise where somebody would have the laugh on him. We had form letters for acknowledging the naming of children. One year when November thirtieth came on Thursday, people began to write in long ahead to ask whether the fifth or the fourth Thursday would be Thanksgiving. The President told me not to answer those letters; that everybody ought to have sense enough to know that Thanksgiving was always the last Thursday! A few months passed, and Don McD. Dickinson, of Detroit, came blowing into my room with his cape-overcoat and appropriate side whiskers, to say that one of his errands in coming to Washington was to discover the date of Thanksgiving. I pointed to the President's door and told him to ask the man there who alone had authority to speak and to come back and tell me what he said. Thereafter I told everybody.[4]

In January, 1893, I went with Cleveland to the funeral of ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes in Fremont, Ohio, in a private car. Now why did he take the trouble to make this journey, especially since travel was always burdensome to him? Primarily from a sense of propriety, but not remotely, I think, as an offset to the prevailing Democratic tendency at that time, as exemplified by the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, which always put quotation marks around the word "President" in referring to Hayes during his term of office. Here, again, was a touch of "sales resistance." When Melville W. Fuller, on his western tour with Cleveland during his first administration, urged him to go through Springfield, Illinois, and lay a wreath on the grave of Abraham Lincoln, the President disregarded his suggestion. In later years, however, after reading a biography of Lincoln, he wrote Richard Watson Gilder that he felt that the hours he gave to the book had been spent in the presence of a supremely great and good man.

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[4] Since 1941 Thanksgiving is always celebrated on the fourth Thursday in November, even if there be a fifth Thursday. See *House Joint Resolution*, Number 41 (1941).

After the election of 1892, Cleveland devoted his energies to making up a Cabinet under the leadership of John Griffin Carlisle, then senator from Kentucky, former Speaker of the House, and one of the genuinely distinguished statesmen of his time. The Treasury was then the pivotal place in the Cabinet in the light of Cleveland's great issues, "Sound Money and Tariff Reduction." Carlisle's selection was an evidence of a certain liberality on Cleveland's part, for he had been quoted as moderately averse to Cleveland's third nomination, speaking of him as a good man who probably could not be elected. Carlisle, moreover, was necessarily close to the great Henry Watterson, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and for many years one of Cleveland's most outspoken critics. On the maintenance of the existing gold standard, which was Cleveland's preëminent issue, Carlisle's position had reflected somewhat the latitude and longitude of Covington, Kentucky. However that may have been, Carlisle threw in his fortunes with the Cleveland cause and for the rest of his life devoted himself to it with unflagging loyalty, and, as it proved, at stupendous personal and political cost to himself.

Speaking of issues, I want to tell an Adlai Stevenson story. Cleveland regretted his nomination for vice-president in 1892, supposing that former Governor Isaac P. Gray of Indiana would be the man. About a week before election day it occurred to him that Stevenson had written no letter of acceptance and had said nothing, so far as he could learn, in favor of the maintenance of the gold standard. Cleveland feared that the Republicans might spring an alarm on the eve of the election to the effect that only his life stood between the country and free silver. He sent me down to the national headquarters to see William F. Harrity, the nominal chairman, although William C. Whitney was the real one—Cleveland customarily referred to Harrity as "Whitney's clerk." I was to ask Harrity if he could not get from Stevenson, without delay, a written committal to Cleveland's financial policy, and in the form of a letter of acceptance. Harrity persuaded George F. Parker, already referred to, to hunt up Stevenson, who was campaigning in West Virginia.

On his way down Parker wrote out a letter of acceptance for Stevenson to sign and issue to the country. It was in two paragraphs, one on the gold standard and the other on the so-called Force Bill, or federal control of elections, which was the outcropping in that era of the same issue as that on which the Dixiecrats went out of the party in 1948. Parker's experience with Adlai showed the latter to be a splendidly obliging man, for having read the letter of acceptance which had been prepared for him, he asked that only one change be made, namely, the order of the issues. Since Adlai had campaigned wholly on the Force Bill and had never mentioned the gold standard, he thought it would look better to make the former the first paragraph of his acceptance. Parker promptly acquiesced. But Stevenson's obliging committal did not prevent his becoming the vice-presidential candidate with William Jennings Bryan on a warmed-over silver platform eight years later.

When we reached Washington on March 4, 1893, we found an establishment of unbelievable simplicity. The White House offices were then over the East Room. People seem to have forgotten that. Our staff consisted of seven white men, one white woman, and three colored messengers. The staff today, including persons detailed from other departments, numbers more than a thousand persons—giving it not the lowest ratio of increase of any governmental agency. In those days the domestic part under Mrs. Cleveland's management was immaculate, but the office part under the charge of the Bureau of Public Buildings and Grounds was the Noah's Ark of every type of cockroach and waterbug known to science. We had in those days a horse-drawn vehicle, driven by one of the colored men, in which Assistant-Secretary Pruden, as occasion arose, rode to the Capitol to convey the messages and papers of the President. One day, as he was getting ready to start, an elder servitor solemnly announced: "The office buggy is downstairs," to which the telegraph operator replied: "And the buggy office is up here."

And one story more to illustrate the simplicity of those days. The President and several of his friends started one Saturday night for a fishing trip in North Carolina to be gone until Tuesday morning. He had left no appointments on his desk for either day. His absence was, of course, to be a secret. On Monday morning came the news of the death of a great foreign statesman. The Associated Press sent two men to the White House to get the President's "reaction." This put Mr. Henry T. Thurber, the official secretary, out on a limb. I never saw a more gracious man. His manners were those of the prosperous undertaker. He could not tell the reporters the President was away on a fishing trip, but he did feel authorized to read the President's mind and tell them how he felt. So he entered the private office and paced around the Chief Executive's desk three or four times and then came out to say with a good deal of feeling and, of course, in complimentary terms, how the President had reacted. The reporters took that as an interview.

That afternoon a so-called cub reporter overhauled Cleveland at a railroad junction in North Carolina to tell him that the local editor believed he would like to comment on the news. Cleveland told the youth that he did not make statements when he had nothing to say; that the late statesman was without doubt an excellent man, but that he as President had had no dealings with him, and therefore had no comment. This contact was sluiced into the Associated Press as had been the earlier experience with Mr. Thurber. When the two came under the eye of Richard Weightman, an editorial writer of a humorous slant, he merged the two reports into an exhibition of how rapidly the President's grief had been assuaged.

Cleveland was six feet and half an inch tall, not short and stubby, as many of the biographical sketches persist in describing him. He was large, but not fat. He did not have a protruding abdomen, but his knees looked like the trunks of trees. In ordinary relations Mr. Cleveland was perfectly affable and altogether reasonable. He talked to me with a great deal more freedom than most of us would display to one so young and immature. When I would go to his room to take sections of a proclamation for copying, he would often stop and look up from his papers to tell me what he was finding and what he was thinking, as if I had been one of his consultants. He did not need to make that comment to me on the Whitney letter which I have already described. When he professed himself one day greatly disturbed over something that appeared in the newspapers and wondered how it had leaked out, I told him the circumstances in which I had said what was there reported. He replied: "I don't see how you could have said anything less." He wanted to give me a place in the consular service when I made known my purpose to leave the White House, but I did not want it—in spite of the allurements of European travel—because I hoped to get a footing in journalism, in which I expected to earn my living.

All Presidents are third-termers at heart. It is natural that they should be. The consciousness of things that everybody thinks ought to be done and feels that the President should see done creates an unmistakable urge. With Cleveland this was the least so, perhaps, of any occupant of the office. As for the convention of 1896, which nominated William Jennings Bryan on a free-silver platform and broke completely with the conservative tradition of the Cleveland group, it had been the original purpose of the gold-standard men to nominate Secretary Carlisle. As the time drew near and the fight between the gold and silver factions became extremely bitter, pressure was brought to bear upon Cleveland not to do anything that would necessarily eliminate himself from consideration as a candidate. It is true that Mr. Carlisle estimated Democratic prospects under the gold standard more highly than others did then, and would now. It fell to me to break in upon him and the President as the returns of the congressional election of 1894 were coming in and to tell them that the Republicans had carried the House. Mr. Carlisle was totally unwilling to believe this. The President was acquiescent. As late as 1904, when the conservative forces regained control of the party and nominated Alton Brooks Parker, many of the old-liners were extremely eager to push Cleveland into the race once more. The farthest they could get him to go was to station telegraph operators in his summer home in Tamworth, New Hampshire, so that he could keep in touch with the proceedings of the convention.

In long-range perspective Grover Cleveland stands out as one of the great figures of our political history. It was not only his eight years of conscientious service as President, but also the tenacity with which he stuck to his principles and the vigor with which he fought for them that made him preëminent. He was a convinced believer in the great lesson which Adam Smith had set forth in the *Wealth of Nations* (1776) just at the time of our Declaration of Independence. That masterpiece was not published in America until 1789, but doubtless had great influence on the theories of the Founding Fathers. Smith's argument against artificial barriers to trade were well known by 1787, with the result that our great automobile industry, for instance, thrives under the benefits of mass production in an unimpeded market instead of struggling for survival in forty-eight watertight compartments. Cleveland would have gone even farther: he would have welcomed reciprocity with Canada, and the eventual inclusion of Cuba in our republic—to the dismay of sugar-beet growers everywhere.

His belief in an inflexible standard for the value of money was not to be shaken. For that purpose gold seemed the most practicable and unassailable metal. He was one of three Presidents to veto a bill restricting immigration—a law which would have carried out what has since become the accepted practice of our nation. He stuck to the old standards of natural liberty. In fine, he was one of the monolithic figures of American history, unswerving in determination, stubbornly conscious of the rectitude of his own intentions, and unyielding toward what he chose to regard as the fleeting fancies of the electorate and appeals to the temporary and the expedient.

The Society "Beats"
Charles Francis Adams, 1914

STEWART MITCHELL[1]

ALMOST exactly thirty-six years ago the Society met here in this room for the stated October meeting—the Annual Meetings, you will remember, were still, at that time, held in April. Just a little more than two months before, the First World War had broken out in Europe. The Romans, we are told by Gibbon and his successors, seem not to have known what was happening to them between the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 and the shelving of Romulus Augustulus in 476. The people of our time are thought to be more civilized, more self-conscious, more aware of what is going on around them in the world. Possibly: so let us imagine some young historian with a good expectation of long life sitting down to write "The Decline and Fall of Europe," but only in three volumes!

The first volume would begin with the scourge of the Black Death, which took off one third of the population of Europe and led to the Reformation and the disgusting slaughter of the Thirty Years' War. The second volume would contain the story of the Age of Enlightenment, which made the governing classes quite incapable of governing, and of the French Revolution and the short-sighted conquests of Napoleon Bonaparte—out of which came the great national blessings of universal conscription, huge standing armies, and the income tax. The third volume, and a fat one, would comprise that second Thirty Years' War which began in 1914 and ended, for the time being, at least, in 1945. This third volume may eventually contain even more than we now guess, but, if as yet we do not know the end, we can all remember the beginning.

On August 4, 1914, Germany invaded France and Belgium; Great Britain made her fateful decision, and brought the splendid Victorian Age to its end. Japan plunged in on August 15. Two days later Russia invaded Prussia. Then, on August 22, Hindenburg and Ludendorff, acting under orders from a Christian Scientist, Field-Marshal von

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[1] This paper was communicated by title at the October, 1950, meeting.

Moltke, met for the first time in their lives in the railway station at Hannover, and joined hands to win their first great, frightening victory together—Tannenberg—on August 30. September 5 to 13 saw the decisive Battle of the Marne, in the West. Paris was saved—until 1940. Yet on September 22, and all within a few minutes, the German submarine *U-9* sank three British cruisers off the Dutch coast—the *Aboukir*, the *Cressy*, and the *Hogue*—with the loss of 1,600 lives. And the German raider *Emden* was still at large, on the high, and unknown, seas.

Such was the setting of the stated meeting of the Society for October, 1914, with President Charles Francis Adams in the Chair. An ominous war had broken out in Europe and Asia; but in Boston everything had to proceed according to plan, and here in the Society it had to proceed in accordance with the printed program for the stated meeting! So the record of June was read, as of old; the Librarian and the Cabinet-Keeper presented their reports; the Corresponding Secretary stated that Joseph Grafton Minot had accepted election to Resident Membership; and Mr. Ford announced the publication of *Proceedings* 47, the *Copley-Pelham Papers*, and the first volume of *Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726–1800*. Then the nomination of Samuel Eliot Morison, of Boston, for Resident Membership, was reported from the Council, this nomination to be acted on at the stated meeting in November. There followed glowing tributes to two octogenarian Members, lately dead—Abner Cheney Goodell and Alexander McKenzie, Mr. Adams speaking for the first, and two excellent gentlemen serving for Mr. McKenzie at horrifying length.

Finally, the Honorable Jonathan Smith arose to read a paper entitled "Toryism in Worcester County During the War for Independence."[2] This paper fills exactly twenty pages of *Proceedings* XLVIII. The author was a worthy man of almost seventy-two, veteran of the Civil War, former member of the Great and General Court, special justice of the district court of Worcester County, Unitarian, Mason, and president of the Clinton Historical Society. Yet, like far too many good men in this wicked world, Jonathan Smith was dull. The afternoon wore on, and at long last the judge sat down. No sooner had he done so, than Philosopher Sanborn leaped to his feet to exhibit "some interesting papers of Lord Sheffield and the historian Gibbon," and to give a description of them. When Mr. Sanborn had exhausted himself, Mr. Norcross rose to present a copy of the poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge in July, 1800, "the original of which he had then just found after it had been lost for more than fifty years."

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[2] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXXIV. 330, and *Proceedings*, XLVIII. 15–35.

Finally, before darkness descended, the unusually patient Mr. Adams "submitted by title a paper ['The Tissue of History'], in which, in view of his experience at the time, he drew a parallel between the Grant campaign for Richmond and the deadlock of trench warfare in Europe."[3] Then the Members scattered to their several homes, distressed and disgusted. They had turned out to hear President Adams on the course of the new war in France, and perhaps to argue with him—and they had heard about the American Revolution in Worcester County!

Amongst the thirty-four Members present that afternoon there were, in addition to Mr. Adams, the following distinguished historians: Edward Channing, Ephraim Emerton, James Ford Rhodes, Justin H. Smith, William Roscoe Thayer, and James Schouler, no fewer than seven in all—besides Governor Long, Barrett Wendell, and the one and only survivor of all those thirty-four, Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, who was just fifty years of age—certainly a galaxy.

The sublime ineptitude of the October Meeting was atoned for, in small part, by Mr. Thayer's reading "The Tissue of History" in November—Mr. Adams being absent. Again in December Mr. Adams was absent, and then he appeared, and for what was to be the last time, on March 11, 1915. Before the end of that meeting he had to leave the Chair to take a train for Washington. There he died on March 20, 1915.

Once he had reached the safety of his home at 392 Beacon Street on October 8, 1914, James Ford Rhodes sat down to write a letter of sympathy to the long-suffering Mr. Adams. This letter cannot be found. Here is the answer Mr. Adams sent him on October 9:

India Building, 84 State Street
Boston, October 9, 1914

MY DEAR MR. RHODES: Thanks for your note, which was thoughtful and characteristic.

I must confess the Society in question beats me. I have presided over its meetings now for twenty years; and yet I find myself continually at fault.

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[3] "Again, 'The Tissue of History'": *Proceedings*, XLVIII. 78–92.

I could not help philosophizing, yesterday afternoon, as I sat there waiting for the dreary drivel to exhaust itself, as to how I could have waked that meeting up had the chance been afforded me. You remember the experience I had, some years ago, in connection with the American Historical Association and the frigate *Constitution.* Yesterday, I am sure I could have quickened the audience by alluding to a subject in which everyone there felt intensely interested. It would have stirred up a discussion.

It was sad, but it was so; and, if the remedy for such contingencies exists, I frankly confess I cannot find it out. There are certain Society amenities and courtesies which must be observed, and the choking-off process cannot be put in force at all times and with all persons.

If you can suggest a practical solution of this difficult problem, I shall be glad to have you do so. Meanwhile, I can only say that some things do get on my nerves.

I will communicate with Mr. Ford in relation to the paper in question, which is now lying on my desk. Curiously enough, it turned on that very forecast of mine, three years ago, to which you alluded on the previous evening. My theory of the present situation is simple. It is that, after full deliberation, combined with perfect preparation, the German Empire ventured on doing that which, three years ago, I said was out of the question, in the belief that they could accomplish their result within four weeks, by a knockdown process, which would effectually prevent the complications and unrest which I had in mind when I spoke. The suddenness of the operation was to render it possible.

It serves as another illustration of Burns's famous adage, that

"The best laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft a-gley."

Believe me, *etc.*,

CHARLES F. ADAMS[4]

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[4] Rhodes Papers: Massachusetts Historical Society.

Congressional Immunity and Privilege

CLAUDE MOORE FUESS[1]

In the midst of confused statements and irrational controversy it may be well to clarify a little history. Congressional investigating committees are neither new nor unusual in these United States. The right to investigate as a legislative prerogative was apparently first asserted by the House of Representatives in 1792, when it passed a resolution appointing a special committee to inquire into the causes of the crushing defeat by the Indians of the army under General St. Clair. Later it was exercised in several different fields for different purposes, including the investigation of federal judges and of its own members. In 1846, Congressman Ingersoll, a Jacksonian Democrat from Pennsylvania, introduced resolutions in the House calling for certain documents which would, he declared, furnish proof of Daniel Webster's "fraudulent misapplication and personal use of the public funds" as Secretary of State. Two investigating committees were authorized, both with the disdainful approval of Webster's friends, and he was completely vindicated.

In December, 1861, Congress established a Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, with Senator Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, as chairman. This Wade Committee, full reports of which were printed in four huge volumes, was a constant source of irritation to President Lincoln. Between 1869 and 1877 congressional committees conducted thirty-five separate investigations of the Grant administration, many of them well justified. In more recent times the so-called Borah Committee undertook in 1920 an inquiry into presidential campaign expenditures which led to some salutary legislation. So numerous had such investigations become in the 1920's that when it was proposed in 1928 to study the tragic *S-4* disaster, not enough senators not otherwise engaged in some investigation were on hand to make it practicable.

Lately investigations have increased in rapid crescendo. During the decade covered by the 71st to the 75th Congresses, inclusive—that is from 1927 to 1937—some statistician has discovered that 146 inquiries by committees were ordered, of which 89 were by standing committees and 57 by select committees. Since the Second World War this inquisitorial business has been taking up even more and more time from more and more members of Congress. It has been calculated that in 1951 some 225 investigations, many of them trivial, were ordered, and in 1952 the number rose to 236. Congress has run wild. No wonder that critics question whether it could not spend its time more profitably by attending to strictly legislative affairs.

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[1] This paper was read at the May, 1951, meeting.

Those who are disturbed by the current flood of congressional investigations cannot, nevertheless, question the authority of either branch to instigate and carry them through. What is sometimes called their "inquisitorial power" has been sustained by the highest courts in the land, mainly on the ground that while it is not specifically granted in the Constitution, it is implied as an essential attribute of the legislative function. In order to make laws, it may be necessary to collect information, and to this end congressional investigations may be helpful. But these are likely to be futile unless Congress can force witnesses to testify. Hence it must be able to punish for contempt.

The power of Congress to summon and compel witnesses to testify has been from time to time disputed and has been questioned even by the members themselves. The famous case of Anderson *v.* Dunn (1821) decided that the House had a general power to punish for contempt persons disobeying its orders; and in 1857, when the House had been having some difficulty with contumacious witnesses, a congressional act was passed "more effectually to enforce the attendance of witnesses on the summons of either House of Congress and to compel them to discover testimony." Meanwhile, leading legal scholars had agreed that among the implied powers of each House, necessary to the very existence of the legislative branch of the government, is the right to punish breaches of its privileges.

Finally, in the case of McGrain *v.* Daugherty (1927), the Supreme Court, when the question at issue was whether the Senate has the power to interrogate a witness, decided that either House can compel, through its own process, a private individual to appear before it or one of its committees and give testimony needed to enable it to carry out effectively a legislative function properly belonging to it. In reaching this decision, the court, basing its argument on a long list of precedents, both parliamentary and colonial, agreed that earlier legislative bodies had regarded the right to secure needed information as inherent in the power to legislate. Any such investigation must, of course, be for what are known as legislative purposes, but it was clear that the court would assume that most congressional "probes" are presumptively within the legislative area.

This decision, as jurists have frequently pointed out, gives to Congress the widest latitude. Indeed, nowadays it investigates anything it chooses. Under the authority thus confirmed, Communist leaders Gerhar Eisler and Eugene Dennis were cited for contempt of Congress in 1947 after refusing to answer questions propounded by the House Committee on Un-American Activities; and after hearings on subversive influences in the motion-picture industry it further cited ten Hollywood writers and producers for contempt. So broad is the principle thus established that one chairman of that committee, Congressman Velde, could say not long ago: "This committee will follow its long established policy of investigating communists and communistic activities wherever it has substantial evidence of their existence."

Persons under investigation are, however, still protected to some extent under the Bill of Rights, especially the Fifth Amendment, which provides that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, . . . nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." In December, 1952, a United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati unanimously reversed the conviction of Joseph Aiuppa, an alleged racketeer, who because he refused to answer twelve committee questions was found guilty of contempt, fined $1,000, and sentenced to three months in jail. At the recent hearings held by Senator Jenner, of the Senate Internal Security Committee, in Boston, a number of the witnesses, many of them teachers and most of them under advice of counsel, stood upon their constitutional rights and declined to answer certain questions on the ground that they might incriminate themselves. Miss Robenia F. Anthony, an elderly retired school teacher from Springfield, Massachusetts, in a prepared statement, said, "When I invoke the Fifth Amendment, I do it to protect myself and other guiltless people from incrimination and even the possibility of future harassing prosecution." On this Senator Jenner and his counsel made no comment.

It would be both unfair and absurd to maintain that congressional committees have not done some good. The investigation by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee of stock exchanges and banking practice, carried on for two years from 1932 to 1934, brought about some badly needed corrective legislation. The investigation of lobbying conducted in 1935 by both the Senate and the House was responsible for curbing the abuses of certain public-utility companies. One of the best committees was that headed by Senator La Follette in 1936 to study infringements on civil liberties. The work of the Kefauver committee, in spite of its organized sensationalism, did focus attention for a while on entrenched graft and crime. The House Committee on Un-American Activities brought about the dissolution of William Dudley Pelley's obnoxious Silver Shirt Legion and also cited various CIO unions as being under Communist domination.

The abuses then, however, were far from being as serious as they are today. The *Christian Science Monitor* recently published a scathing editorial calling for "Inquiries upon Inquiries." The *New York Times*, in a vigorous leading article entitled "The Plague of Little Men," has complained of "the menace of attacks by irresponsible congressional committees, or the chairmen thereof, on the basic rights of American citizens." Representative Herman P. Eberharter, of Pennsylvania, went even further when he remarked in 1950 in criticism of his own colleagues: "It seems to me that most Congressional investigations start out with some pre-conceived notions and are aimed directly to either propagandize some idea or to publicize the members individually or to create a scandal for political purposes."

This is strong language, but many thoughtful observers have corroborated it. In the attempt to combat subversive activities, all pretence of trying to gain information for legislative ends has been cast aside and committee members have assumed Star-Chamber powers of inquisition. Having set their own rules of procedure, the chairmen have often allowed the witnesses few privileges and have even resorted to various forms of persecution. When the investigative power is so arbitrary, so unrestricted by statute or precedent, abuses are inevitable, especially when that power is wielded by irresponsible men with ulterior motives. Dr. M. Nelson McGeary, the author of what is perhaps the best book on the subject,[2] reached a significant conclusion, which he expressed as follows: "The fundamental legitimate end of Congressional investigations would seem to be, in the final analysis, an unbiassed uncovering of all the facts on a given subject. In actual practice, however, the information which is unearthed is always colored by the ideas in the minds of those who dig."

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[2] M. Nelson McGeary, *The Development of Congressional Investigative Power* (New York, 1940).

Because of the inevitable newspaper publicity and, more recently, of television, some of these hearings have taken on the aspect of a spectacle or "show," with the inquisitor the central figure and the witness as a victim. The spirit is very different from a trial by jury. Hearsay is accepted as evidence, and the questions are often packed with innuendoes. These congressional investigations symbolize a force which, in the hands of malicious or even of well-meaning but foolish men has been and can be very dangerous to basic human liberty and rights.

What is wrong with the system? In the first place, the temptation to any congressman with any actual or latent limelight-seeking tendencies is almost irresistible. The custom of appointing the mover of a resolution for an investigating committee its chairman has not been precisely a deterrent. Congressmen are, after all, vulnerable to ambition; and without attempting to pry into motives, it must be clear that many of these "probes" have been undertaken for personal considerations. For two vacancies on the House Committee on Un-American Activities during a recent session there were, it was reported, 112 applicants—a sure indication that positions on this much publicized committee are regarded as desirable. Few members have failed to observe that Senator Kefauver's work as an exposer of crime made him a formidable candidate for the presidential nomination.

This very fact makes it difficult, indeed almost impossible, for committee members to preserve the mood of objectivity which should characterize any fair investigation. The chairman of a special committee naturally wishes to have its existence justified. Consequently he lacks the unprejudiced approach which belongs to a body like the Supreme Court. No probing committee wants to report negative results. Hence the tendency has been for investigators to employ instinctively the tactics of a prosecuting attorney. It was said of the late Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana, "He seemed to find the same degree of pleasure in investigation that some men find in intoxication." Men of this type belong in the attorney-general's office, not on a committee instructed to ascertain the facts.

The excessive emphasis on investigations places an additional heavy burden on congressmen, taking them away from their more legitimate and productive business of legislation. Many of them earn their salaries by making not laws, but headlines. The Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce—commonly called the Kefauver Committee—opened its hearings in Miami, visited fifteen cities from coast to coast, and ended for its climax in New York City, with Frank Costello and Virginia Hill as its principal performers. During this period the members of the committee could not have been spending much time on legislation.

A considerable amount of duplication inevitably adds to the cost. For example, the subversive investigation field has been covered by three different agencies—the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee headed by Senator Jenner, the Senate Investigations Sub-Committee, of which the redoubtable Senator McCarthy is chairman, and the House Special Committee on Un-American Activities, headed by Congressman Velde. Some natural jealousies have developed in consequence. The last group, however, boasts that "as the only full committee specifically created to ferret out subversion, it has outdistanced all other legislative probers in both the scope of its studies and the tremendous volume of information it has uncovered." Since this committee was established in 1938, with Congressman Martin Dies as its chairman, it has heard more than 1,600 witnesses. Its legislative results were shown in one law—the Internal Security Act of 1950, requiring Communists to register.

There are indications that a turn for the better is already on the way. Some attempt is being made, for example, to alter the procedures so that witnesses may be less restricted. Congressman Keating has introduced a bill correcting many of the existing faults, providing that witnesses be given the right to have legal counsel, that they be allowed to make statements, that the questioning be relevant to the subject of inquiry, and that persons claiming injury from any testimony be privileged to speak in their own behalf, call witnesses, file statements, and carry on unlimited cross-examination as would be permitted in any court.

It has been repeatedly charged that committees have needlessly and ruthlessly invaded the private affairs of witnesses. That the members of the House Committee on Un-American Affairs are becoming sensitive to this criticism may be deduced from their behavior at the interrogation of witnesses in Washington on February 25, 1953. At the close of the questioning of an admitted former Communist, Robert G. Davis, Chairman Velde remarked:

> It seems that every time we hold an investigation, certain people do take opposition to our hearings, the manner in which we conduct them, and cite many facts which I believe, as you have so ably described, are untrue, and I want to say now I appreciate the compliment which you gave this committee when you said you felt sure we were not interfering with the academic freedom or freedom involved in any way.

When it was announced that Senator Jenner's committee was coming to Boston, New England newspapers and leading citizens showed very little enthusiasm. Possibly this may account for the chairman's mild behavior at the hearings. The staff writer of the *Monitor* reported, "There was no criticism of any actions by the Committee, from either witnesses, their counsel, or the press." To many of those who listened it seemed that the members of the committee had at last decided to reform themselves and give no cause during their visit for adverse comment.

After all, there never was any excuse for treating American citizens summoned as witnesses as if they had been indicted for an offense against society. The purpose of a congressional hearing should not be to prosecute or persecute, not to terrify or insult, but to unveil the truth. Unfortunately no way has existed of preventing an abuse of the investigatorial power through the caprice or prejudice of any congressman. The important investigations of the 1930's headed by Nye and Walsh and La Follette had their aberrations and sometimes became ridiculous, but they were dignified conclaves compared with some of those which we have recently been watching. The clumsy utterances of small-minded men "dressed in a little brief authority" have not improved the situation. Congressman Donald L. Jackson, for example, is reported as having accused Bishop Oxnam, of the Methodist Church, of preaching Christ on Sunday and abetting Communism through the week. Mr. Jackson must know in his heart that Bishop Oxnam is no more a Communist than Calvin Coolidge or Herbert Hoover. The bishop's crime is that he does not happen to agree with Congressman Jackson—which is not yet valid evidence of Communism. Reckless utterances like this discredit the congressional investigators and demonstrate that some of them are lacking in the temperament for judging their fellow men. Clearly more internal restraints, as well as men of larger mold, are needed if the public is to have confidence in congressional investigations.

The *New York Times* once said editorially, "It is not the fact of investigation that has brought about the present complaint against Congressional committees. It is rather the way in which investigations have been carried out." It would be quite possible for the more conscientious and self-respecting members to check the publicity mania of some of their less scrupulous colleagues. Certainly it is both expensive and absurd for three separate committees to be occupied in the same type of hunt for subversive activities. Most congressmen are already, on their own confessions, overwhelmed with week-by-week obligations to their constituents. If investigations were indulged in more sparingly, the Senate and the House would have more time for debate and legislation. Perhaps it is too much to expect men and women necessarily concerned with elections to forego the political kudos of investigations, but there are cheering signs that a large number of members—perhaps a majority—are "fed up" with it all. It is gratifying that Congressman Kenneth B. Keating, head of the House judiciary sub-committee investigating State Department action in cases of Americans employed by the United Nations, has insisted that it should promulgate its own formal rules of procedure intended to safeguard the rights of witnesses.

The pressure could be somewhat relieved by the transfer of certain investigations to outside agencies, more objective and judicial in attitude. When the case of John Carter Vincent was brought up for consideration, President Truman appointed a committee to look into the matter and report. This committee was comprised of outstanding citizens—Judge Learned Hand, John J. McCloy, James Grafton Rogers, G. Howland Shaw, and Edwin C. Wilson—men on whose qualifications it is needless to enlarge. Before they were ready to report the new administration had taken office, and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles dissolved the committee! The full story has never been made public. The salient fact, however, is that the committee had the complete confidence of the public and that it could have been relied upon to make a dignified, fair, and trustworthy investigation. Such conspicuous cases as those of Owen Lattimore and Philip Jessup could have been much better handled by an impartial committee with no axes to grind and no political aspirations to satisfy.

It seems unlikely, however, that congressional leaders will view with enthusiasm the appointment by the executive of special investigating committees, no matter how well qualified these may be by experience and character. We have for some years been in a period when the legislative power, in an aggressive mood, had tended to encroach on the executive, especially by demanding information from various departments and officials. Senator McCarthy has repeatedly complained that he cannot secure access to the secret files of the State Department; and Attorney-General Brownell has even given an interview to *Newsweek* to explain why personnel files cannot be entrusted to Congress. As far back as 1792, President Washington declared that he would make only such documents available to the House as the public interest would permit. Most strong Presidents have in certain instances refused to give Congress access to confidential material. It is probable that Congress, in its turn, will prefer to do its own investigating. Indeed Congressman Keating, whose point of view, as we have seen, is very reasonable, has also said, "No other arm of our government offers any substitute for the legitimate Congressional inquiry in action. If it has sometimes seemed to oppress, it is also one of our basic safeguards against oppression." I should prefer to underline in this statement the crucial word "legitimate."

The argument may be summed up briefly. The investigating right of Congress is an implied power, never successfully challenged, and limited legally only by the First, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution—sections of the Bill of Rights protecting individual citizens in their basic freedoms. This inquisitorial power has often proved useful when directed and controlled by reliable personnel. Furthermore the mere fact that Congress may investigate does, as Representative McSwain once said, restrain "the ordinary impulse and tendency towards corruption." But the movement towards indiscriminate and partisan investigation has been carried too far and should be checked. The only effective method of checking it is through the force of public opinion, which has already begun to operate.

To many of us some of these congressional investigations as they have been conducted have resembled suspiciously the so-called "trials" held in totalitarian states like Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. They have with alarming frequency violated an elementary principle of justice by assuming that a witness is guilty and must prove his innocence; and it has too often seemed to observers that the chairmen were trying, not to ascertain the truth, but to make out a case. One chief difference between our American democracy and the despotism of the *Politburo* has lain in the latter's indifference to the rights and privileges of the individual. Fortunately, with us these rights and privileges are guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, which once again, as so many times in the past, proves to be a comforting protection against the efforts of politicians to undermine them. The true enemies of our traditional freedoms are those demagogues who, in responsible positions and wearing the masks of patriots, would ignore our Bill of Rights and behave themselves like Nazi Brown Shirts. These self-styled conservatives are at this moment in our history the greatest menace to our personal freedoms and the liberal philosophy of Adams and Jefferson and Franklin from which they are derived. These are the real radicals, who would blast down the foundations of our republic.

Latin American Dictatorships and the United States

Clarence Henry Haring[1]

Within the past few weeks a revolution in Cuba, a military *coup d'état*, has led to the upsetting of a duly elected civilian government by a clever, resourceful military leader, who once before achieved the leadership of the state—dictatorship—by similar means. And revolution in Bolivia, but in reverse, has resulted in the upsetting of a military government by a civilian party followed by a bloody civil war. These victorious civilians will doubtless rule as arbitrarily as did the soldiers, that is, to the exclusion of every other party or faction. And all this within the past six weeks! Our own government, after appropriate enquiry, has promptly recognized the new régimes, in both Bolivia and Cuba. This action has been a matter of concern to many worthy citizens of this country: the seeming inconsistency of posing as a champion of democracy in the world at large, on the one hand, and of maintaining, on the other hand, relations with some rather less than democratic governments in Middle and South America.

We fight a war—two world wars, in fact—in defense of a democratic way of life, and at the same time we ally ourselves in the Pan American Union—or the Organization of American States, or the O.A.S., as it is called today—with some of the most undemocratic, arbitrary, if not unscrupulous and brutal governments in the western hemisphere. We frequently hear from the more vocal Leftists that, with all our democratic protestations, we should not, we cannot, stand idly by while the democratic elements in some of the Latin American countries are under the iron heel of military tyranny. We must give them our moral, if not our material support. We must do something about it. In other words, we must intervene, on our own behalf, in the domestic concerns of these countries.

Yet I remember that some twenty-five years ago, when we *were* intervening in the domestic politics of several Middle American States, from the Dominican Republic and Cuba to Nicaragua and Panama—in accordance with the so-called Theodore Roosevelt "corollary" of the Monroe Doctrine—these same liberals were just as vociferously demanding that we desist from intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American Republics. This was imperialism, "dollar diplomacy"!

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[1] This paper was read at the February, 1952, meeting.

When our friends demand that we intervene in the support of the democratic elements in nations where dictatorship prevails, one may properly inquire what they mean by "intervention." Shall we revive the policy pursued by our government for a quarter of a century (1904 to 1930), sending marines to help maintain constitutional, representative government? Or shall we refuse diplomatic recognition to governments set up by revolution, by unconstitutional procedure? Or shall Washington exert its influence to deny to such governments economic assistance, either from the United States or from Europe? Or shall we do *all* these things?

Perhaps the question may be clarified by brief reference to our experience in Central America and the West Indian republics a generation or two ago. In 1904—after the Spanish-American War, and our acquisition of Puerto Rico, and the freeing of Cuba from Spanish rule—and especially after the independence of Panama and our undertaking to build the Panama Canal—our interests and responsibilities in the Caribbean area were vastly increased. It seemed important that the very unruly little nations in that area—chronically late in making payments on their foreign obligations, suffering from perennial revolution which often endangered or impaired foreign lives and property, and threatened to bring intervention by European governments in defense of their nationals—intervention which, in turn, might lead to a permanent interest by European states in that area, where we believed our own interests to be paramount—it seemed important, then, that these little states be made to behave themselves.

And President Theodore Roosevelt, in his annual message to Congress in 1904 made a famous declaration—the so-called "corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine—enunciating what came to be called the "big stick" policy.

> Any country whose people conduct themselves well, can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable

> efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States.
>
> Chronic wrong-doing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrong-doing or impotence, to exercise an international police power.

This policy of "supervision" of the internal, and sometimes external, affairs of the Caribbean nations was certainly well-intentioned. Its purpose was to exert to the utmost our power and influence in order to insure public peace, maintain constitutional procedure in these nations, rehabilitate their finances, and thus forestall intervention by aggrieved governments in Europe—intervention that might jeopardize our control over the approaches to the Panama Canal. What was our experience? Relations with the new Republic of Cuba were governed by the celebrated Platt Amendment to its constitution, which authorized the United States to intervene for the maintenance of public order, limited the borrowing power of the new state, and incidentally provided for the lease to the United States of certain naval and coaling stations. The consequence was a period of American rule in Cuba from 1906 to 1909, and thereafter threats of intervention in 1912 and 1917.

The history of the Republic of Haiti had been a long story of arbitrary misrule, revolution, and chronic disorders, until in July, 1915, American marines were landed to avert European intervention. The collection of customs, and government finance generally, were placed under American administration, and the country, although enjoying peace and material prosperity, became practically a dependency of the United States.

Already in 1904, when President Theodore Roosevelt first enunciated his famous "corollary," the government of the Dominican Republic was in a state of hopeless bankruptcy, and European intervention to protect foreign lives and property seemed imminent. An arrangement was then made for a receivership of customs under American control to insure the government's solvency. But political disturbances and financial irregularities continued, and in April, 1916, this small republic, too, was occupied by American marines.

I need not enter into our arrangements with the Republic of

Panama, for the existence of the Panama Canal constituted them a special case. But intervention in Nicaragua, beginning some forty years ago, was "notorious." Nicaragua had been ruled since 1893 by a truculent dictator, José Santos Zelaya, who aspired to the rule of all Central America. He was a thorn in the flesh to his neighbors. In 1909 our government rid Nicaragua of him by supporting a revolution of the opposition party, and until 1924 that party (a so-called Conservative Party) maintained itself in power with the moral and military aid of Washington. American bankers were encouraged to make arrangements for the reorganization of the currency and the foreign debt, and for the economic development of the country. In 1912 a legation guard of 100 marines was landed to protect the new government from revolution, and they remained there, except for a short interval in 1925–1926, until 1933, although for several years the country was continually in the throes of civil war.

By and large, American intervention made for peace, political stability, and financial solvency. But that these desirable results were due chiefly to a healthy dread of the North American Big Stick was also true. And it caused bitter resentment, not only throughout Central America but in Latin American countries as a whole. We were accused of imperialism (a much abused word), of the ambition to dominate by strong-arm methods, military and economic, the whole Western Hemisphere. This mounting hostility was bad for our trade as well as for international goodwill. It culminated in the International Conference of American States in Havana in 1928, when it almost destroyed the Pan American movement. There we suffered a virtual diplomatic defeat, and were saved only by the rivalries among the Latin American nations themselves.

Then Washington began to see the light. We gradually liquidated our commitments in Central America and the Caribbean republics, and began consciously to pursue a Good-Neighbor Policy—really begun by Republican President Hoover, but publicized and emphasized by Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The legation guard was withdrawn from Nicaragua in 1933. Intervention in Haiti was gradually liquidated between 1931 and 1934, when the last of the marines left the republic. In the same year, 1934, there was signed the treaty that freed Cuba from what it regarded as the humiliating terms of the Platt Amendment. The full sovereignty of Panama was recognized by a treaty ratified by the United States Senate in 1939. And in the Dominican Republic, from which American forces had already been withdrawn in 1924, the American collectorship of customs was finally abolished in 1940. The results in our relations with Latin America were almost immediately apparent. They appeared at the next Pan American Conference (International Conference of American States) at Montevideo in 1933, and in the Conference at Buenos Ayres in 1936, where the American governments, including the United States, agreed, as a matter of principle, to abjure all intervention in the domestic and foreign concerns of other American states.

President Wilson, early in his first administration, had enunciated the policy of refusing diplomatic recognition to governments coming into power in Latin America by revolution or *coup d'état*; and this policy was pursued thereafter by our State Department in Central America. In conformity with a series of treaties signed in Washington by all the Central American republics in 1923, we agreed furthermore not to recognize any new government, even if it were elected, that was headed by a leader of a revolution or by any of his near relatives. These efforts to maintain the forms of constitutionalism by denying recognition to revolutionary governments were abandoned by the administration of F. D. R. as a costly and thankless experiment.

Although this policy was confined mostly to the Central American republics, countries of South America feared that this form of intervention would be extended to them also, as it was, once, in the case of Ecuador. This was one of the circumstances in the crisis in inter-American relations at the Havana Conference in 1928. But in 1930—that year of South American revolutions, when governments were overthrown by force in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, and Brazil—we fairly promptly in each case accorded diplomatic recognition to the new régime.

One of the chief aims of our Caribbean policy had been to insure constitutional government and popular control through honest elections. In that we had signally failed. The implications of this policy and the responsibilities put upon the Department of State, were too vast. They forced the department to serve as interpreter of the constitutions of these countries. Rival political leaders turned to Washington to inquire whether they were eligible for election for the presidency, or which of the political parties in the dispute was constitutional, when in reality neither, perhaps, had much claim to that distinction. If we supported a government as being constitutional, it generally meant merely enabling that government to perpetuate itself in power by rigging the elections—in other words, supporting what became, to all intents and purposes, a dictatorship, as happened in Nicaragua for more than a decade. If we refused recognition to a government as being unconstitutional, we encouraged the opposition to attempt to overthrow it by violence—in short, we were encouraging revolution. In any case, the party in power, just because it was associated with foreign intervention, came generally to be opposed by a majority of the people. Thus the government was really a minority régime. There seemed to be no way out of this morass of contradictions.

So we slowly liquidated our Caribbean engagements, and joined with all the other American governments formally to repudiate the right of intervention in the domestic concerns and foreign relations of other American states. This principle found its ultimate expression at the Pan American conference at Bogotá in 1948, where the problem was discussed of the recognition of *de facto* governments; whether a new government arising by way of revolution—not a legal or constitutional or *de jure* government—should be accorded immediate recognition regardless of its origin. The discussion centred about the so-called Estrada Doctrine of the continuity of diplomatic relations. This doctrine was not formally adopted by the Conference; the question was referred to the Inter-American Council of Jurists. But our State Department, in spite of some popular criticism, has since acted more or less in accord therewith. The Bogotá Conference met in March of 1948. Before the end of that same year, two popularly elected governments in South America had been overturned by an army revolt—that of Peru in October and that of Venezuela in November. In each case the State Department, after appropriate inquiry, recognized the new military régime. We had done the same, more recently, in Cuba and Bolivia. That is where we stand today.

The past five or six years have seemed rather discouraging for friends of democracy in Latin America. We see Argentina a constitution closely patterned after that of the United States, prostituted by a demogogic Perón; we find military dictatorship in Venezuela, Peru, Haiti, and Cuba—in all of which countries government by popular election had only recently emerged for the first time in their history; we see Colombia, remarkable during nearly fifty years for its adherence to democratic rule, driven by factional passions into the dictatorship of a single party.

There is, however, a brighter side to the picture. Brazil within the same period repudiated dictatorship and returned to popular elections in 1945. And although Brazil recently reëlected its former dictator, Getulio Vargas, to the presidency, that election was in reality the greatest expression of popular suffrage in its history. Ecuador, classic land of revolutions, few of whose presidents in recent years have been permitted to complete their term of office, seems under President Galo Plaza to have attained to some degree of equilibrium. Chile and Uruguay, too, both of which have lived under dictators at one time or another during the past quarter century, have retained their democratic institutions intact.

Even in the Middle American area—Central America and the Caribbean—the hopes for democracy are glimmering, in spite of a Somoza in Nicaragua and a Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. The people of Panama have very recently and very forcibly rejected an aspiring semi-fascist demagogue; Costa Rica and Salvador, during the past few years, have both fought for free elections; Guatemala five years ago overthrew a heavy-handed dictatorship to restore the democratic process, although a process that comes close to putting Communist elements in control. Even Honduras recently chose a president by peaceful election.

All this, however, does not make the problem of our relations with dictators or democrats any simpler. During the recent World War, of course, the contradiction of our fighting for democracy in Europe and consorting with dictators in America was obvious, although it was no more contradictory than our alliance with Communist Russia. For both situations the answer is the same; in a time of grave national peril (and after Pearl Harbor it was very grave, for we were on the brink of disaster) we had to seek help, and especially economic help, where we could find it, regardless, if you will, of political principle.

But there are other considerations, less transitory, more permanent, involved. I believe that it is very important that the Pan American Union, or Organization of American States, be preserved, for strategic, military reasons and for the peace of the world—preserved as a regional organization within the United Nations. That regional organization is based upon the principle of the absolute political equality of states, large and small; a unique principle, for no other international political body, neither the League of Nations, nor the United Nations, has been able to achieve this political equality of states. Indeed only by adherence to such a principle, among nations so varied in language, race, culture, and economic power, has the Pan American concept achieved such notable success. On our former policy of intervention, which was really a denial of that principle, the Pan American movement was almost wrecked twenty-five years ago.

Even under an unpopular dictatorship, interference by a foreign power has frequently stirred the patriotic majority of the nation to rally behind their own government. A liberal opposition to dictatorship which welcomed foreign intervention has generally been a minority in the nation, not too popular with their fellow-countrymen. In fact, it is a common phenomenon in Latin American history that dictators or unpopular governments have deliberately conjured up the spectre of foreign interference in order to rally the nation behind them and divert attention from the shortcomings of the government at home.

Argentina is a case in point, both when Spruille Braden was our ambassador in Buenos Ayres, and today. Mr. Braden never attacked the government to which he was accredited, but he did state publicly that he and his fellow-countrymen believed in democracy and hoped for the ultimate victory of democratic principles in America. That could doubtless be interpreted as "moral support" for the democratic elements in Argentina—moral support for which these elements had been anxiously hoping. But it just as certainly did not weaken General Perón's likelihood of election to the presidency. On the contrary, many believe that popular support for Perón was increased by what he loudly proclaimed to be gross intervention in the domestic politics of Argentina. And President Perón has ever since, to this day, used Ambassador Braden as a whipping-boy to rally the nation to his support. The issue of the famous Blue Book by our Department of State just before Perón's first election, intended to discredit the existing régime in Argentina, was also, and for the same reasons, as the Spaniards say, *contraproducente*.

I am not sure, therefore, that even moral support by our government for the democratic elements suffering under dictatorship in Latin America can be relied on for success. Political interference, either by landing marines or by denial of diplomatic recognition, we have tried, and found wanting. The currents of a jealous nationalism in these countries are running too strong. Pressure of any kind is immediately seized upon by press and politicians as foreign intervention, and intervention of any kind, the American states have agreed, contravenes the basic principle of the political equality of states.

There are, moreover, other considerations of a collateral nature. There runs throughout Latin America—and our own public is rarely aware of it—another sentiment parallel with Pan Americanism, and quite as strong, if not, at times, stronger; and that is Latin Americanism. The American nations with a common Hispanic background—and this includes Portuguese Brazil—possess a feeling of solidarity that often transcends the Pan American idea. Indeed, in the minds of many Latin Americans the two are often confused, and when they talk of Pan Americanism they are really thinking in terms of Latin Americanism. This was true even of the great South American liberators, Simon Bolívar, called, if inaccurately, the "Father of Pan Americanism." This is quite natural, not only on cultural grounds, but because of the glaring contrast between the "Colossus of the North," with its extraordinary economic and political power, and their own meagre resources. This Latin Americanism, although largely sentimental, is sometimes translated into political terms. The insistence of the Latin American delegates to the Chapultepec Conference in Mexico in 1945 and at the San Francisco Conference that created the United Nations later in the same year, that Argentina in spite of its "misbehavior" during the Second World War, be restored to good standing within the Pan American Union and be admitted to the United Nations, is a case in point. It is within the orbit of these ideas that the Organization of American States must function, and it is the more important that the solidarity of the United States with the other American Republics be maintained.

There are, however, still other circumstances of a more fundamental sort. It may be questioned whether many of the Latin American nations are prepared, as yet, for democracy as we understand it in this country. In many of them, especially the Andean countries, the rate of illiteracy is high, and land still remains the possession of a relatively few who, fearful of losing their privileged position, are distrustful of democratic institutions, and at times in the past have been frankly fascist. In many of them the mass of the population, Indian or near Indian, or Negro or Mulatto, remain an ignorant, impoverished, dependent class, outside the body politic. A small educated white minority monopolizes political and economic power. In other countries a middle class has emerged and advanced in numbers, wealth, and education, and has obtained political and social recognition. But here, too, very often, due to lack of experience, political education has lagged behind cultural and economic progress. The consequence is the political crises in Argentina and in Colombia today.

The rise to power of the Perón régime in Argentina represents nothing more or less than the bankruptcy of democracy there as a going concern—the moral and political bankruptcy of what was once the majority, middle-class party, the so-called Radical Civic Union, and this in a country that prided itself on being somewhat superior to all other Latin American nations—not as other people are—and in cultural and political progress far beyond the stage of alternate revolution and dictatorship. And Colombia, which we fondly regarded as having definitely emerged together with Uruguay and Chile, as one of the few truly democratic states of South America, which has enjoyed almost a half century of unbroken political peace, where Liberals and Conservatives coöperated loyally in maintaining the constitutional process, often collaborating in the government—in Colombia today party passions have risen to fever heat, with the result that some of the provinces are in a state of civil war.

These shortcomings, as has been said elsewhere, are due to historic circumstances that go back to the days before independence. One hundred and twenty-five years ago these Latin American communities, like the thirteen English colonies, had attained a development that made them strong enough to achieve independence from the mother country. Unlike the English colonies, however, they lacked most of essentials of self-government. Under the absolutism of Spanish and Portuguese kings, they never had been given opportunities to learn the simplest rules of democratic action, or the elementary principles of popular government, nor were they permitted to acquire experience in matters so axiomatic to us that we are scarcely conscious of them.

Motives of public service, which are the result of long experience in self-government, and without which no democracy can survive; the spirit of compromise, willingness of the minority to submit to a majority's decisions, or of a majority to respect the rights of the minority

—all these were notable for their absence. And again, when independence was achieved in South America, it involved only a political revolution. The old social order remained: a small land-owning aristocracy supported by a great mass of servile Indian or Negro workers. A middle class did not exist.

The South American patriots held high resolves for the future of their countries and aimed to give them ideally perfect governments based on the priciples of democracy and equality. But in actual practice they fell far short of these ideals. They were theorists, without practical experience in politics. They drew up constitutions that embodied the ideals of liberalism fashionable in that day, but in most cases incompatible with the actual social and economic conditions prevailing in their countries. In this aristocratic society, moreover, the only respectable job was a professional job—in the army, the government, or the church; and all the more so because, with the lack of industrial development and of a middle class there was little economic opportunity for the ambitious young man in any other sphere of life.

Politics, therefore, in these new republics soon resolved itself into a struggle between rival groups in the small ruling minority for control of the government and of the patronage that went with it. When a faction or group got into power, it could not easily be dislodged, for once in office, it tried to remain there, by hook or crook, by fraud or force. In short, it became a kind of dictatorship, which could be pried loose only by violence, by resort to revolution. The written constitution was *in substance* ignored, and revolution became the accepted extra-constitutional method of changing the government. Something of this inherited situation still survives today. Given the handicaps with which these republics have had to contend, handicaps social, economic, racial, and political, the vagaries of their history in the past may easily be accounted for, and the vagaries of their politics in some of them today.

No nation can be made to achieve democracy by government fiat, either at home or from abroad. A functioning democracy is the fruit of a long, hard period of experiment, of trial and error. This is nowhere better exemplified than in the history of the United States. In some countries, therefore, generally the more Indian countries, government at best and of necessity remains in the hands of an educated minority—at worst, in the control of a military dictator. In some of the more advanced republics, either a self-appointed oligarchy of land-owners and leaders in industry and commerce manipulates the political machinery set up by the constitution and monopolizes the government, or a demogogic Perón exploits the ignorant proletariat and an inexperienced middle-class electorate, to set up a semi-fascist dictatorship. Even in Mexico, which has made extraordinary progress in the past quarter-century, where the national government in general probably represents the will of the majority, candid Mexicans freely admit that elections are not, and cannot be, "free and uncontrolled."

What, then, is the answer to this problem of the relations of the United States with dictatorship in Latin America? If we cannot, and should not, intervene openly or covertly in the domestic politics of other American countries, we can at least openly, in our periodical press and elsewhere, condemn injustice and denial of personal and political rights in the more unfortunate republics. Witness the universal condemnation abroad of the rape of *La Prensa* of Buenos Ayres by the Perón régime last year. We can also assist even undemocratic governments to raise the standard of living of the under-privileged masses, improve health and vigor by programs of public sanitation, and provide enlarged educational facilities—a major item in Point Four—and so help create a broader basis for the emergence of an intelligent, popular electorate. We can also provide an example of how a democracy should function by trying to keep our own house in order—which we have not done too successfully of late, as shown by the disclosures of corrupt practices in both national and local administration.

Our government should try to avoid even the appearance of condoning dictatorship or the violation of personal and political rights in other American republics. This will be difficult, while we are carrying out the Point Four program. As Professor Stuart Hughes has put it in a recent book in regard to Italy and Japan,

> The United States does not need to support conservative political parties in any overt fashion; these parties simply give their people to understand that they enjoy the blessing of the American government, and their people, far more accustomed than the Americans to think in terms of economic influence on politics, are ready to believe them. American influence can come practically without effort or intuition.[2]

The same remarks apply to our relations with undemocratic governments in Latin America. The daily press reported last fall that the World Bank had recently granted a credit of a half million dollars to the Republic of Nicaragua for constructing a grain storage and drying plant. Does this assistance imply moral and economic support for the dictatorship of Somoza, or is it merely aid in raising the living standards of the Nicaraguan people? The loan of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars to Argentina over a year ago, was really intended to bail out American business interests, and perhaps to avert an economic crisis that would bear heavily upon the rank and file of Argentine people, but it created a very unhappy impression among liberals in Argentina and in other South American countries, notably in Brazil, our best friend in that part of the world. It was not so much that we seemed to be aiding a near-fascist régime, but rather because we were not being so generous to other Latin American countries. And there is no evidence that this "soft touch" approach has even earned us the good will of the Perón régime. The government-controlled Argentine press continues to attack the United States and certain of its respected citizens outrageously. An Argentine inclination to coöperate effectively with the United States and other American republics, either in the O.A.S. or in the policies of the United Nations, seems to be as remote as ever.

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[2] Stuart Hughes, *An Essay for our Times* (New York, 1950).

Given then, the present critical state of affairs in the world at large, and the O.A.S. as at present constituted, intervention by the United States in the countries of Latin America in the interest of democracy, the exertion of diplomatic or economic pressures, is out of the question. The charter of the O.A.S. everywhere stresses as fundamental the principles of popular government; yet within the Union there exists an unfortunate division between governments that are narrow oligarchies, or dictatorships, and governments that are honestly democratic. Any policy of intervention by the United States, even "moral" intervention, would merely tend to make this schism wider, and might be resented by all Latin American governments, good and bad. By holding the Union together, however, we are really working in the ultimate interests of liberalism throughout the Americas, and helping to strengthen that larger world order represented by the United Nations.

Steps Toward Federation in Europe

SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY[1]

DURING the past five years more progress toward a united Europe has been made than during the fifteen preceding centuries. The Roman Empire gave Europe peace and security. But when it fell under the attack of the German invaders unity and peace largely vanished. For fifteen centuries various attempts and suggestions were made to restore that unity. Charlemagne created a united Europe from the Elbe to the Atlantic, but it fell apart under his grandsons, and Alsace-Lorraine became a centuries-long dividing bone of contention between Germany and France. The Medieval Church brought a certain spiritual and political unity, but this too disappeared in the sixteenth century with the Protestant Reformation and the rise of many new national states. Great Christian idealists, like St. Augustine in his *City of God*, Dante in his *De Monarchia*, and Immanuel Kant in *Eternal Peace*, sought to lay the moral foundations for a unified and peaceful European society. The world admired their lofty sentiments, but did not put them into practical operation.

Napoleon, like Charlemagne, united most of Europe by force under his sceptre through his own genius and the new force of dynamic French nationalism. But when nationalism was aroused in other peoples by his oppression he was overthrown. With his downfall came the first modern effort at a kind of European confederation—the so-called Concert of Europe established by Castlereagh, Metternich, and Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna. Though England soon pulled out of it on account of revolutions in Spain and Greece, it did prevent any major war between the Great Powers until the mid-century Crimean War and the nationalist wars for German and Italian unity. The Concert of Europe was successfully revived by Sir Edward Grey to prevent any general conflagration during the Balkan wars of 1912–1913, but events were precipitated so rapidly in 1914 that it failed to function.

As the First World War was a global conflict, it was natural that President Wilson should propose a universal League of Nations embracing many nations of the earth. For ten years it achieved much and was deemed a success. Then it failed, partly because it did not include three of the most powerful nations—the United States, where President Wilson's stubbornness, and isolationist sentiment, prevented Senate ratification, and Germany and Russia, which, in 1919, were regarded as pariahs not fit to associate with peace-loving nations. After the second global war another organization was hopefully established. The United Nations did include the United States and Russia, though not Germany and her late allies. It cannot be said yet to have failed, though it is badly hamstrung by the veto power and the dividing Iron Curtain. It does, however, provide in Article 51 for the possibility of regional defense organizations in particular areas like the Americas, the North Atlantic Community, and a united Europe. It is the two latter with which we are here concerned, for they seem at the moment to be the best hope for a free world.

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[1] This paper was read at the April, 1952, meeting.

There are two ways to secure a united Europe. One is to try to form at the start a complete federal structure with a federal parliament, elected by the people, with power to legislate on many subjects—tariffs, taxation, citizenship, *etc.*, and even to create a defense army. This would mean a very serious limitation on the political sovereignty of the states composing the federation. It is bound to meet very stiff opposition, and in fact has so far been unsuccessful in Europe. The second way would be to begin modestly and gradually with international agreement on a few practical matters, economic rather than political. If these work satisfactorily, they will accustom people psychologically to the idea of further coöperation in more fundamental matters, and may lead them at last to agree to the final, crowning step of establishing a federal parliament.

The first way might be likened to trying to raise a completed roof on a scaffolding before the cellar and firm sustaining walls have been built to support it. The second way is like the slow but sure process of starting with the cellar and adding the firm supporting walls of practical coöperation but always keeping in mind the ideal of the completed structure eventually to be crowned by a spreading roof. It is this second method that has been making such good progress during the last five years. It is the method that accords with the wise old Latin motto, *Festina lente.*

The first way lay at the base of Clarence K. Streit's *Union Now* and its subsequent modification in *Atlantic Union.* These plans urged, on behalf of democratic peoples on both sides of the Atlantic, the calling of a federal constitutional convention, created, not by existing governments, but by the people themselves. If the thirteen American colonies could form the most successful and enduring federation in the world, why could not the democratic peoples of the world today do the same? Two fundamental assumptions of his enthusiastic appeal, however, may be questioned as unsound. First, his argument from the analogy of the thirteen colonies. They were fairly homogeneous, had a long common British tradition of self-government and toleration, and plenty of room for expansion. The countries that he would include, on the other hand, even though more or less democratic, are very far from enjoying any such homogeneity. They speak different languages, have different traditions, have nursed age-long grudges and memories of conflict, and are crowded together within narrow boundaries. The analogy savors of wishful thinking.

The second assumption is that the people are more inclined to peace, coöperation, and disregard of the traditional sovereignty bogey than their governments or political leaders. We believe that the history of the past hundred years probably indicates quite the contrary. The latest notable example occurred last January. Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer had come to a statesmanlike agreement for the creation of a united supra-national European Defense Army. But when they asked their legislatures for authority to proceed with its adoption at the Lisbon meeting of the NATO ministers, the people's representatives in the Bonn Parliament burst out into bitter nationalist attacks on France, and the French Assembly replied in even more bitter attacks and recriminations against Germany.

The second way, that is, beginning with the cellar and walls, had made good progress before World War II, but on a limited scale. Over the course of many years governments and private interests had established some fifty functional organizations for international or regional coöperation. The Red Cross, Postal and Telegraph Union, agencies for standardizing currencies, weights and measures, *etc.*, and the International Labor Office were more or less world wide. Confined to Europe alone were organizations like the International Sleeping Car Company, which gave sleeping- and dining-car service across international boundaries, between Paris, Moscow, Constantinople, Naples, and so on. These were highly successful because they were for particular functional purposes and were frequently revised in international conferences to meet changing conditions. The League of Nations and the United Nations have added many more such useful functional organizations. Leaving aside the world-wide organizations, let us turn to those relating to the European area.

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

The Second World War, with its appalling economic destruction and misery, soon followed by Russia's aggressive attitude, enormously increased the conviction that the weakened European states must really unite if they were to survive free and independent. Several projects gradually took shape. They were political, economic, and military, but all were closely interrelated and all aimed at strengthening Europe by closer coöperation and unity.

The most ambitious political project was the Council of Europe. It was largely inspired by Winston Churchill. He was then out of office, but his vast experience gave him unparalleled prestige as he peered into the future. The London Conference of the Big Four had just broken down, owing to Molotov's uncompromising attitude and endless propaganda speeches. The Communists had seized Czechoslovakia and were working to weaken or seize the governments of France and Italy. The threat from behind the Iron Curtain was becoming menacing as Berlin was being cut off more and more from its communications with the West. Under these conditions a United Europe Movement was formed under the leadership of Winston Churchill, Paul-Henri Spaak, Alcide de Gasperi, and Léon Blum, who on his death was succeeded by Robert Schuman. They arranged in May, 1948, a great meeting of some eight hundred enthusiastic delegates—political leaders, writers, prelates, trade-unionists, teachers, and representatives of various organizations for a united Europe. Out of this meeting grew the statute for the Council of Europe, adopted a year later, in May, 1949, by ten governments. Greece, Turkey, and Iceland were soon added to membership, and Germany and the Saar later became associate members, making fifteen in all.

The Council of Europe holds its sessions four times a year in the historic city of Strassburg. It consists of two bodies. The first is the Committee of Ministers. It is made up of the foreign ministers of the member countries. They tend to keep all real power in their own hands. They stick to the idea of sovereignty and insist that their decisions require unanimity. The second body is the Consultative Assembly. It consists of 127 delegates. The number from each country is roughly proportional to that country's relative population. The delegates are chosen by the national parliaments instead of by popular vote so that they do not represent the people as a whole as in the American House of Representatives or in the Bismarckian Reichstag. The delegates sit alphabetically by their individual names instead of by the name of the country from which they come as in the United Nations Assembly. This has the advantage of breaking up national group delegations. It enables individuals from different countries to get well acquainted with each other's point of view and to look at united Europe's interests as a whole, instead of sticking to the views of their own national group.

It had been hoped by the French, the Italians, and most of its advocates, but not by the British Labour Government, that the Council of Europe would gradually evolve into a real Parliament of Europe; that the Consultative Assembly would eventually be elected by the people instead of by national legislatures; that it would become a genuine representative legislature with power to act on such important matters as tariffs, currencies, taxation, human rights, and the organizing of a united European army. In other words, it would become the lower house of a European federal legislature, while the Committee of Ministers would be only an upper house.

The Council of Europe, however, has not as yet fulfilled any such enthusiastic dreams. There are several reasons for its failure to evolve as hoped.

First, its membership of fifteen participating countries is either too small or too big. It is too small in the sense that it does not include Austria, Switzerland, Spain, or Portugal, to say nothing of the European countries behind the Iron Curtain. It is thus not truly European. It is too big in the sense that it includes Greece, Turkey, and the Scandinavian countries which are only on the fringes of Continental Europe. It also includes Great Britain. The British Labour Government was averse to being involved in a strong Council of Europe which might interfere with Britain's planned-economy policies.

Second, Britain is also vitally linked up with the non-European countries of the British Empire and also with the United States by very close ties. These extra-European obligations and ties of Great Britain make it impossible for her to bind herself too closely to Continental Europe. Mr. Churchill therefore has followed the policy of the Labour Government. In office he has given rather stepmotherly treatment to the infant which he had laid on the doorstep of Europe when out of office. He is willing to coöperate with the existing Council of Europe, but unwilling to see it develop into an effective federal institution.

Third, the Scandinavian countries, being largely maritime and belonging to the sterling area, tend to support Britain's attitude, rather than the views of France, Italy, and Germany.

Eloquent speeches, applauded especially by the youth of Europe, have been made at Strassburg in favor of developing the Consultative Assembly into a real Parliament of Europe. This was notably the case at the Strassburg meeting last December, when Robert Schuman, de Gasperi, and Paul-Henri Spaak made strong appeals, but without success. Spaak, who for three years had been elected president, was so disappointed and indignant, that he resigned his office in order to spend his time in making speeches to arouse popular sentiment to the urgent need of strengthening the Council of Europe. For the moment, however, it has remained little more than a debating forum. As a Federal Parliament of Europe it is still only a dream.

OEEC AND EPU

More hopeful progress toward federation is likely to be found in more limited projects for economic and military union like the six-power Coal and Steel Community and the European Defense Community, which do not include Britain and the other peripheral states of Europe.

The European community spirit has already greatly developed as a result of the Marshall Plan. Following Marshall's suggestion in his Harvard Commencement address in 1947, the United States offered to supply funds to aid in the economic recovery of Europe. To work out the best ways for applying American aid, seventeen European countries formed OEEC, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. For four years it has afforded invaluable practice in European teamwork. It has studied agricultural and industrial conditions, examined finances, and collected trustworthy statistics. On the basis of this information it has drawn up and put into effect wide-reaching collective programs which have been binding on the seventeen governments. It has thus invaded and restricted sovereignty in a way that governments have never hitherto permitted and prepared them psychologically for further coöperation in the direction of federation.

The Marshall Plan has been a huge success. It greatly improved European morale. It raised the standard of living and increased general production by nearly forty per cent above that of 1938. It helped save Western Europe from Communism at a critical moment when Communists were seeking to weaken or overthrow the governments in France and Italy. Europeans have been grateful, though their gratitude perhaps has not been commensurate with the extent of American generosity, because it is human nature that the donor often feels more kindly toward the recipient, than vice versa; and also because the United States has often put strong pressures on the European countries to adopt policies which will benefit all, but which are contrary to the traditions or particular interests of individual countries in regard to tariffs, currencies, taxation, and forms of production.

The Marshall Plan, by helping Europe to help herself, had calculated that Europe after four years would be self-supporting and not need any more American aid. OEEC could therefore come to an end with the Marshall Plan in June, 1952. But this calculation unfortunately proved incorrect, owing to two unforeseen factors. First, Russia not only refused to join the Marshall Plan but set up in opposition to it the Molotov Plan, which forced her satellites into strict economic dependence on herself. Her Iron Curtain prevented the revival of the normal pre-war East-West trade which the Marshall Plan had counted upon. Instead of being able to get grain and raw materials from the East in exchange for its machinery and manufactures, Western Europe still had to import these from the United States or other dollar areas. This produced the continuing "dollar gap" in Europe's balance of payments.

The second unforeseen factor was Russia's increasingly aggressive attitude, and the Korean War. The West had to rearm. Money and materials for economic recovery under the Marshall Plan had to be diverted to military purposes under the Mutual Security Program and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Much of the work of OEEC has therefore been transferred to NATO's agencies, but OEEC's fund of information and experience is so valuable that it will probably be continued after next June, though with a reduced staff.

This is also true of the European Payments Union, which was to expire in June, 1952. This complicated but very useful currency pool was formed in 1950 by the seventeen European members of the Marshall Plan with the aid of an extra grant of $350,000,000 from the United States. By agreements reducing tariffs and by its mechanism for making various currencies convertible, the European Payments Union has facilitated exchange payments and so promoted trade between West European countries. It also, therefore, will be retained beyond next June.

SCHUMAN PLAN

The closest step to real federation in Europe is the Schuman Plan, or, to call it by its official name, the European Coal and Steel Community. It was first proposed by Robert Schuman in May, 1950. In spite of criticism by the British Labour Government and by French and German industrialists, a treaty embodying it was finally signed nearly a year later, in March, 1951, by six countries—France, Germany, Italy, and the three Benelux countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. It has already been ratified by France, Germany, and the Netherlands and will probably soon be ratified by the other three countries. Its political aim is to eliminate a main cause of Franco-German antagonism and reconcile old enmities. By creating a supra-national authority over the two most important basic industries it will lay a solid foundation for a European federation which is indispensable for strengthening Europe and preserving peace.

Its economic aim is to create a single great coal and steel market or free-trade area of 150,000,000 people comparable in population to the United States. Within this large community it will preserve private competition, promote efficiency, check unemployment, and raise the standard of living. Hitherto Germany has been dependent on Lorraine iron ore for its steel. France and Belgium have been dependent on Ruhr coal. And Italy has been dependent on both coal and steel from abroad. Under the Schuman Plan all these resources will form a single pool open on equal terms to all consumers in the community. A start is made with only six countries because they are the principal producers or consumers of coal and steel, aside from Britain which is unwilling to join, but the door is left open for other countries to come in. The agreement is binding for fifty years, though all its complicated provisions do not come into effect until after an introductory five-year transitional period.

The most interesting feature, from the point of view of European federation, is the delicately balanced organizational structure. It comprises four bodies, as follows:

1. The High Authority, which consists of nine members. The six governments agree upon the appointment of eight, and they in turn choose the ninth member. They hold office for six years, but they may be reëlected. They are selected for individual competence, and must not hold any position in any government or coal or steel company. Their sole obligation is to the Community and not to the country to which they belong. No country can have more than two members. This body acts by majority vote, but the majority must always include either the French or the German members.

The High Authority is the executive branch of the Coal and Steel Community, but it does not manage the coal and steel companies. These remain under their present management and ownership. The High Authority is more like a regulatory board the chief function of which is to see to it that the existing companies abide by the elaborate provisions of the treaty. It can, however, impose taxes up to one per cent of total production. It can borrow money to lend to companies to expand their plant or increase efficiency. By warnings, and then by heavy fines, it can prevent all unfair practices such as "dumping," double-pricing, rebates, monopolistic price fixing, and reduction of wages below the normal rate. It can facilitate the mobility of labor from one area to another. These are its normal functions. But under exceptional conditions of scarcity or over-production it may regulate prices and allocate products.

The High Authority is assisted by an Advisory Committee in which employers, employees, and representatives of the public are equally represented. They are appointed by the six governments and can make recommendations on wages, working conditions, and other matters, but the High Authority is not obliged to adopt these.

2. The Common Assembly of seventy-eight members, in which

France, Germany, and Italy have equal representation, each sending eighteen delegates, and the three Benelux countries, ten, ten, and four. They may be elected by the national parliaments or by popular vote as each country may desire. The Common Assembly meets once a year to review the annual report of the High Authority. By a two-thirds vote of censure it can compel the collective resignation of the High Authority. Beyond this power of ultimate control, its functions are slight.

3. The Council of Ministers is composed of one minister from each of the six national governments. The council is a connecting link responsible for harmonizing the policies of the High Authority and those of the member governments. It has no power to supervise the High Authority, but its concurrence is required in certain specific cases.

4. Finally, a Court of Six Judges, like the Supreme Court of the United States, has the power of declaring acts of the High Authority unconstitutional: that is, not in accordance with the treaty. The Court is also the final instance for settling any disputes that may arise under the Schuman Plan.

A great deal can be said, and has been said in defense of and in criticism of the Schuman Plan. But these arguments may be omitted here. Enough has been said to indicate that the European Coal and Steel Community is a very interesting example of supra-national or federal control in a limited field. If successful, it may prepare the way for a wider federal organization of Europe. There is already talk of creating a similar united control over and development of agriculture, electric power, and transportation in the Schuman Plan countries. It is also in some ways the model for the European Defense Community to which I now turn briefly.

Soon after NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, was formed three years ago to resist possible Soviet aggression, the United States strongly urged that Western Germany be invited to join. We wanted a rearmed Germany to furnish additional man-power for the joint defense of Europe. We probably made a political mistake at the time in urging this so strongly. A majority of Germans, sick and tired of war, did not want it. Compelled to disarm completely in 1945 and then urged to rearm, they were utterly confused. They did see, however, that the question placed a trump card in their hands which has made them rather arrogant in making demands on the Allies for restoration of German sovereignty. It also greatly alarmed the French, who were more terrified at the prospect of a revived German army than of a Soviet attack. They were so opposed to a separate German army, even though placed under the supreme command of General Eisenhower, that the idea of admitting Germany to NATO had to be abandoned.

Instead, the French Premier, René Pleven, worked out a plan by which the six Schuman Plan countries might form a single European army. The Germans would not be allowed to have a separate army of their own with a revived German General Staff, but might furnish small combat units of not more than 6,000 men each for common defense. A German combat unit would be sandwiched in with two similar non-German units to form a division commanded by a non-German staff. These divisions would form a six-power European army. This plan was bitterly opposed by the Germans because it did not give them equality of treatment, and for various other reasons as well. It contained, however, the germ out of which grew the European Defense Community.

After long negotiations, principally between Robert Schuman and the German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, who could speak German to one another, the general principles for a European Defense Community were worked out and approved by the NATO council meeting at Lisbon last February. These principles are now being put into the precise terms of a six-power treaty which General Eisenhower hopes to see finished and signed before he returns to the United States.

The plan contemplates ultimately by 1954 a supra-national European defense army of forty-three divisions: fourteen French, twelve German, twelve Italian, and five Benelux. Each division will consist of about twelve thousand fighting men, plus several thousand supply and transportation personnel. Germany will not have a separate army because that is a bugbear to her neighbors. But she will not be limited to small combat units sandwiched in with foreign troops. Each German division will be organized like all other divisions and will be commanded by German officers. One German division will be grouped with one or two non-German divisions to form an army corps of the European Defense Community. The army corps commander may, or may not, be a German, as the Community administration may decide.

In time of war all the army corps will be under the NATO supreme commander.

The federal agencies for the European Defense Community are to be similar to those of the Coal and Steel Community, as follows:

1. An Administrative Commission of nine members appointed jointly by the six governments for a term of six years. Its function will be like that of a minister of defense: that is, the organization and training of the defense forces in conformity with directions from the NATO supreme commander.
2. An Assembly, chosen by the six national parliaments, to examine the defense budget and the annual reports of the Administrative Commission.
3. A Council of six ministers to harmonize the action of the Commission with the policy of the member governments.
4. A Court of Justice, to decide all disputes that may arise.

One very important provision stipulates that no German troops be recruited and no start be made toward the organizing of the European Army until the treaty for the European Defense Community has been signed *and ratified* by all six powers concerned. This ratification by all will not be easy to obtain. The popular nationalist feeling against any such supra-national army is strong in every country. The French are still very fearful and suspicious of Germany and any revived army. The Germans will hesitate to ratify before they get a satisfactory pledge about the Saar territory, which is now under French control. Chancellor Adenauer will strongly urge ratification, but he may not be able to stay in office. His position in Germany has been further weakened by a growing opposition and by the recent Soviet offer. This offer promises to Germany the unification of the Russian Zone with Western Germany, the restoration of a separate and independent German army, and complete sovereignty—on condition that Germany enter into no military treaty with the Western powers. This Soviet offer makes a strong emotional appeal to many nationalist Germans, who are more eager for German unification than for German integration with the free nations of the West. Will Adenauer be able to carry his people and the Bonn Parliament with him in securing ratification of EDC? It is difficult to say.

One may venture to say, however, that Europe is definitely moving toward greater unity. It is to be hoped that the coal and steel and the army projects will go into successful operation. Then, but hardly now, would be the best time to call a constitutional convention to frame a more complete and perfect federation which would have power to deal with, and which might include more European states than the six that are now leading the way.

Diplomacy and Popular Government

DEXTER PERKINS[1]

As a Massachusetts man, born in Boston, and one who never penetrated beyond the Hudson River until he had been thoroughly educated at Harvard College, I feel particularly happy at addressing this venerable and distinguished Society. My long period of teaching in what some Massachusetts people, including my own grandmother, used to describe as "the West" or "out there" (I am speaking of Rochester, New York) has not dimmed my loyalty to my native state and city, and it is a pleasure to come back here in these happy circumstances. I have chosen for my topic today "Diplomacy and Popular Government," a title perhaps more ambitious than the exposition which I shall attach to it. There has been much writing on American foreign policy, but it has to a large extent been purely narrative. What I want to do here is to treat a small segment of the subject philosophically, and to raise some questions as to how a democratic state such as ours, or perhaps I should say how our democratic state, actually conducts itself in the field of diplomacy.

First of all, I want to make the point, the central point, that our diplomacy has for the most part proceeded from the people, and that in analyzing it we may, and should, start from this assumption. It is, however, an assumption that should be supported by evidence. In this regard, the first thing to stress is that America has until recently never had a professional diplomatic class, and that this class, when it came into being, was much less influential than it is in most European countries. The State Department was a very small organization during the greater part of the nineteenth century. Though there were occasional long-time workers in it like William Hunter and Alvey Augustus Adee, it is difficult to trace the influence of these men on policy. The secretaries themselves made the decisions or, if they did not make them, the Presidents whom they served made them. As for our representatives abroad, they were usually carefully controlled by their instructions and rarely exercised a decisive influence on policy. In the twentieth century the progress towards professionalization has been more rapid. But investigation of the secretaryships of Charles Evans

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[1] This paper was read at the November, 1952, meeting.

Hughes, Frank B. Kellogg, and Henry L. Stimson will show that these men, and occasionally some one or two individuals close to them, were the true makers of policy. Certainly instances can be cited of policies evolved in the department and coming from below, but their acceptance or rejection would naturally have to depend upon the secretary himself.

The next point to be made is that the secretaries, and the Presidents whom they served, were almost invariably men with political rather than diplomatic training. John Hay was the only genuine professional in the entire list, though some others—like Monroe and John Quincy Adams—had had professional experience when they assumed the office. As a result of their origins these men were more likely to think in terms of interpreting the public will than were the frequently aloof figures who operated in European chancelleries. Moreover, they were controlled by a President who was, inevitably, much concerned with the political effects of his action. Woodrow Wilson once said that the essence of the presidential task was interpretation. The statement may be exaggerated. But there is certainly much force in it, nonetheless. Inevitably our foreign policy has been shaped by opinion, by democratic opinion, to a degree that does not obtain abroad.

In a sense, it has had to be. For though there have been periods when the people of the United States have been indifferent to foreign affairs, they have rarely been indifferent when great interests were at stake, or great emotions aroused. One of the most vigorous debates in the history of the early years of the republic came over the Jay Treaty. The foreign policy of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison was exhaustively discussed in Congress. The annexation of Texas was a great political issue. The list might be extended indefinitely. No informed student of American foreign policy will make the declaration—often heard—that Americans have taken foreign policy seriously only recently. Furthermore, they have always insisted upon the right to know. Treaties, it is true, were considered in secret in the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century. But from the indiscretions of two senators with regard to the Jay Treaty of 1794 down to our own time, the secrecy has been most imperfect. Even in relatively early days the contents of treaties were often published in *Niles's Register* before the treaties themselves had been ratified.

Moreover, very early in its history the American government published a great deal of its diplomatic correspondence. Much of this is hidden from the gaze of the layman in the congressional documents, but there it is, nonetheless. And public declarations of policy go back as far as the Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine. It can be seen, therefore, that it is no form of words to say that the American people have always had an important part in the formation of their foreign policy. What I wish to do here is to show how that influence is exerted in practice.

I shall take two particular lines of development as the basis of my examination, the Monroe Doctrine and the development of the idea of collective security, and try to relate them to certain broad generalizations with regard to the way in which the American people have expressed themselves in the field of international relations. I hope these generalizations may have a wider suggestiveness than the subjects with which they deal, important as these subjects are.

In the first place, let it be said that there seems to be, under popular government, a strong tendency to state the objectives of foreign policy in terms of general principle. It is not strange that this is so, for, if the people are regarded as the ultimate tribunal in the determination of our diplomatic action, the case for this or that choice must be stated in broad terms. The mass of men cannot be expected to be expert in the field of international affairs; they have neither the time nor the inclination to study a problem as a scholar would study it; they must in the nature of the case pronounce their judgment on wider grounds. The question that flows from this fact is whether in the main an excessive ideological preoccupation characterizes a democratic foreign policy, whether the national interest is sacrificed to shibboleths or distorted by excessive concern with what—when we approve of them—we describe as principles. It is a question of great moment at the present time, when the United States is ranged against another great power, sharply differing from it in its view of the future, in its economic and political conceptions, and in its scale of human values. But since I am, as an historian, more concerned with the past than the future, I shall turn my attention not to prophecy but to some analysis of the past in terms of the two great doctrines that I propose to examine.

Let us take a long look at the Monroe Doctrine and at its development, not from the annalistic point of view but with the purpose of discovering just how the American mind operates in the field of foreign policy. There is an old maxim that all generalizations are false, including this one, and this maxim ought to make us think twice about the Monroe Doctrine. The doctrine, as we all know, was promulgated by James Monroe in 1823. It declared that the extension of the political system of Europe (a system which the President did not trouble to define, and which was not the same in all of the Continental states) would be dangerous to our peace and safety, and it stated furthermore that "our southern brethren" (that is, the newly independent republics of Spanish America) could hardly be expected to adopt it of their own accord.

In the context of the year 1823 a skeptical mind might well doubt whether European intervention in South America was necessarily and inevitably dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. One can understand easily enough how the occupation of the island of Cuba by a strong power, and particularly by a power with anti-slavery leanings, such as Great Britain, might seem a threat to the Americans; but beyond this it is not easy to go. The time was to come when the idea of an inter-oceanic canal gained increasing currency and when communication between our Far West and the East by the way of Panama or Nicaragua would be important; and the control of any means of transportation across Central America by a foreign power would be a matter of grave concern to this country; but in 1823 that time was about a quarter of a century distant. Still more, it is hard to see how, let us say, a monarchy in the Argentine (there were schemes for such a monarchy) would have directly menaced the United States, or why a nondemocratic government, let us say in Chile, or in Paraguay, would alter in any serious respect the fundamental position of the United States in this hemisphere. If one considers the Monroe pronouncement as an abstract proposition, therefore, it was by no means beyond all question; nor is it any answer to this criticism to say that Monroe's vision extended to a remote and very different future; we know, as a matter of fact, that it did not.

Nor was Monroe correct in his view of our southern brethren. That atrabilious but able and devoted statesman, John Quincy Adams, had some years before raised in his diary the question as to whether the Latin-American revolutions really resembled that of 1776, whether their objectives were the same, whether their future development would be along similar lines, whether, in short, there was a clear ideological affinity between the former dominions of Spain and the United States of America. And, though he accepted and played a part in the formulation of the message of 1823, though indeed he endorsed its general principles, he was clearly less influenced by this notion of political affinity than was his chief. Today, looking back over a hundred and twenty-five years and more, we can see that democratic government has by no means run so smooth a course in the lands to the South as it has in the United States, that there are today only a few Latin-American states which have maintained the democratic way of life unflinchingly, and that Monroe's generalizations as to the New World were distinctly vulnerable.

Do not think that I am about to show that the fifth President's pronouncement was all nonsense; not at all. On the contrary, I am concerned to indicate how it was shaped by the American people and their governors; how it became increasingly useful in practice, how it was adapted to circumstances, and modified by occasion; how this convenient general tenet, although of doubtful philosophical accuracy, became a most useful instrument for the conduct of policy.

In examining the history of the Monroe Doctrine from this point of view, we must, however, begin by pointing out that it was a long time before the words of Monroe took root. They were designed for a specific occasion; and the idea that they embodied was by no means accepted in its fullest implications as soon as uttered. On the contrary, before long a partisan debate broke out which, while it did not centre precisely on the doctrine, illustrates the practical tendency of the American mind, and the popular reaction against dogma which acts as a foil to the popular attachment to dogma. In the administration of John Quincy Adams an attempt was made to hold a congress of the American states at Panama, and to that congress the Adams administration wished to send representatives. The President had no extended purposes in view; he did not desire to turn the message of his predecessor into some project of close association with the republics of the South; his purpose was much more limited. Yet a great hue and cry was raised by his opponents; and not a little of this hue and cry was directed to depreciating and questioning the declaration of December 2, 1823. The motives behind this criticism were most obviously partisan; the anti-Adams men were already manoeuvring with the election of 1828 in mind. It is worth while pondering the fact that what was to become a cherished national dogma was thus subjected to factious criticism only a few years after it had been enunciated.

Partisanship runs through a great deal of the foreign policy of this democratic nation. It is a luxury we cannot indulge in, in my judgment, in the times in which we live. But it is fair to say of the foes of the Adams administration that, from their point of view, they were engaged in innocent play; no fundamental national interest was involved; indeed the Panama Congress itself was to turn out a fiasco. They even had hold of a bit of truth, in fact, for it must always be a question as to how far a general principle is to be accepted and how far it is to be qualified by expediency. This is one of the gravest problems of statecraft for all but the convinced doctrinaire. Men often do good from questionable motives; in challenging the validity of Monroe's pronouncement the men of 1826 were posing a problem not unworthy of attention.

It is worth considering that the Monroe Doctrine, when next invoked in a big way, showed the influence of the Panama debates of 1826. James K. Polk, who reënunciated it in 1845, had been in Congress at that time. In 1845 he declared that it applied with greatly increased force to the North American continent. This might well seem to the historian one way of attenuating Monroe's principles, and this judgment seems all the sounder since Polk remained relatively indifferent to Anglo-French action against the Argentine in 1846. Nonetheless, despite the President's caution, the Whigs pooh-poohed the new declaration, and Calhoun, often out of step with the Democrats, made a great speech in 1848 in which he clearly stated that it was not well to tie oneself to a shibboleth, and that the nation must be free to act as it deemed wise in every emergency, unbound by any formula. All this is very interesting, indeed; what it illustrates is that, despite the tendency under popular government to tie oneself to generalities, there is a converse impulse which tends to loosen the tie. The American politicians who in 1846 and 1848 challenged President Polk were expressing, as the President himself was, something significant in the public opinion of the time.

It is no coincidence that the wider acceptance of Monroe's declaration coincided with genuine national interests. The question of an interoceanic canal began to assume practical importance in the late forties; and one aspect of this question was the increase of British influence in Central America. The Whigs, in power from 1849 to 1853, sought to deal with the problem on purely practical grounds; they tried to arrange a practicable settlement of the problems raised by the British possession of Belize, by British interest in the Bay Islands and in the Gulf of Fonseca. But the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, by which they sought to make a reasonable settlement of the matters at issue, was not long acceptable. Suspicion of British purposes persisted; the Democrats invoked the Monroe Doctrine, and by 1857 both parties were giving it a qualified adhesion. The popular instinct which made this adhesion possible was sound, and the invocation of a general principle was a most effective way of promoting a national interest.

The Monroe Doctrine, however, attained a true national status in the case of the French invasion of Mexico and the setting up of the puppet monarchy of the Austrian Archduke Maximilian. It can hardly be denied that here was a genuine threat, both on ideological and realistic grounds, to the position of the United States. As soon as the hands of the American government were freed by the victory of the North in the Civil War, a widespread demand arose for action against the French; there was now no question of party; Democrats as well as Republicans joined in the clamor. Fortunately, the situation did not suggest the necessity of war; the Mexicans themselves were taking good care of their own problem by an heroic resistance to the troops of Louis Napoleon, and the embarrassments of the Emperor at home provided an added motive for the abandonment of what was, perhaps, from the beginning a quixotic enterprise. The problem was brilliantly handled by Secretary of State Seward, who at once stepped up his tone with the French government, while carefully abstaining from any rash or immediate provocation. In his various diplomatic steps, the secretary of state was faithfully interpreting American public opinion; his tone and his method are a classical example of the operation of diplomacy at its very best under popular government.

The invoking of the Monroe Doctrine to justify exclusive American control of an inter-oceanic canal (which meant, of course, the abandonment of the arrangements of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty), it is not necessary to discuss in detail, but a great deal of light is thrown on diplomacy and popular government by the famous Venezuelan episode of 1895. In that year, it will be remembered, after an attempt to deal with the matter by direct negotiation, Grover Cleveland aroused the nation by demanding of Great Britain that it arbitrate a boundary dispute involving territory between British Guiana and Venezuela, and even went so far as to threaten to appoint a commission to draw the line itself if the British government refused to yield to the American demand. For a time there was a tremendous expression of popular feeling, but the matter was finally settled by an arbitration agreement.

What is hardly realized, however, is that in that arbitral agreement, the case was already substantially prejudged in favor of the British claims; the Cleveland administration, by accepting the principle that fifty years of occupation would be regarded as giving title by prescription, was in effect conceding a very large part of the British claim. Despite the momentary popularity gained by the twisting of the British lion's tail, President Cleveland soon realized that he had gone too far; and it was made clear that a considerable segment of American public opinion was by no means disposed to support the President if the outcome of that support were to be a war with the United Kingdom. This segment of opinion was expressing a sound point of view for it was a matter of no great importance to the United States who controlled large areas of almost uninhabited territory in the hinterland of Spanish America. True, the mouth of the Orinoco was also involved, but there seems no reason to believe that the British had the slightest idea of seeking control of that river or of erecting a naval station upon it. Mr. Cleveland had gone much too far; and it is a measure of the good sense of many Americans, and also of his own, that before long he realized that fact.

There is another point of major importance involved in the Venezuelan episode of 1895. It is frequently contended that a popular government cannot retreat from a position that it has once assumed; that the tendency of open diplomacy of the Cleveland type must be to create embroilments that a more discreet handling of the issue might easily avoid. This criticism, if sound, would be no less than damning; but it is *not* sound. It was clearly demonstrated in this case that a way out of an embarrassing situation can be found, at least on occasion, and that the American people have a fund of good sense on which it is often possible to rely. The retreat that the President executed was not a secret manoeuvre; the basis of the understanding with Great Britain was embodied in a public document; and yet American opinion accepted that understanding with little difficulty. Nor is this the only case (the matter might be embroidered at length) in which high-sounding declarations have been qualified in practice; everyone remembers that the election of 1844 was fought on the cry of "fifty-four forty or fight," but that after the election President Polk compromised with the British government on the line of forty-nine degrees as the northern boundary of Oregon. We shall have more to say of this matter later on.

In the first decade of the twentieth century a new extension of the Monroe Doctrine took place. This is the famous Roosevelt corollary. By this corollary the President laid down the principle that if a state of the New World flagrantly misconducted itself, or if in a given case frequent revolution resulted in a "general loosening of the ties of civilized society," the United States, in order to prevent intervention by others, might itself be obliged to intervene. In pursuance of this doctrine, first, a customs receivership was set up over the Dominican Republic, and later actual armed intervention was resorted to in the affairs of the states of the Caribbean, in Nicaragua, in Haiti, and in the Dominican Republic itself. The climax of this policy, it ought to be observed, and two out of three of the interventions under it, took place in the years of the First World War, when American public opinion was much occupied with other matters. None of the actual occupations of foreign territory came about as a result of any popular demand; all illustrate the manner in which policy may, in some instances, be framed by professionals rather than by the pressures of mass opinion.

I do not wish to make myself the defender of the Roosevelt corollary, though it is perhaps fair to say that in the conditions of the first decades of the twentieth century, it was necessary to watch with special vigilance an area which controlled the passages to the Panama Canal, especially in view of the growing naval power of Germany. But the point I wish to make has nothing to do with this; personally, I believe it unlikely that there was any real danger from the second Reich at that time. The point I stress is that this policy, largely discredited, was abandoned after the war, and the abandonment was in part due to the criticism which came from many quarters with regard to it. It had never been generally popular; the Democrats had criticized it from the beginning; and when President Wilson applied it it came under fire from the Republicans, among others, from that "great idealist" Warren Harding; and when the Coolidge administration, having got out of

Nicaragua, marched in again, it was the Democrats once more who took up the rôle of the critic. Partisan criticism may, it is true, come from ulterior motives; but it is almost always a sure sign that there is some discontent to be exploited, some prejudice to be ministered to. I think it fair, therefore, to reiterate the observation that the policy of intervention in the Caribbean was never a popular policy, was never wholeheartedly accepted by the American people.

In the twenties and the thirties there took place a remarkable alteration in the attitude of the United States towards the countries to the South. There is no doubt that, for once, this change owed much to one of our professional diplomats; the name of Sumner Welles will always be associated with the good-neighbor policy. But in the twenties Welles was in the State Department for only half of the decade; and there are clear evidences that the attitude which he embodied had deeper roots than lie in the personality of a single individual. In the retreat from the Roosevelt corollary he had the support of Secretary Hughes, and in the years 1921 to 1925 the United States withdrew from both Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, though from the first, as has been seen, only temporarily. But the Coolidge administration, under a very uninspired Secretary of State, Kellogg, moved in the same direction; the second intervention in Nicaragua was a brief one; and by 1928 the famous Clark Memorandum, not yet published, dissociated the Monroe Doctrine from the maxims of the ebullient Theodore. This retreat took a more striking form in the thirties; at the conference of Montevideo in 1933, the United States pledged itself against intervention in the affairs of the states of the New World; and this pledge (a bit qualified in 1933) was reiterated in 1936 at the conference of Buenos Ayres. Furthermore, and the fact is indeed an extraordinary one, the protocols of Montevideo and Buenos Ayres were ratified unanimously by the Senate of the United States, a striking evidence of the degree to which they were supported by American sentiment, and of the inexpediency of any partisan opposition to them. In these same years of the early thirties the Clark Memorandum was published to the world; the Platt Amendment, which conferred on the United States a right of intervention in Cuba, was abrogated; the marines were withdrawn from Haiti; and by 1934 not a single American soldier remained on the soil of any of the independent states of Latin America.

All this was sound policy; the reasons for the Roosevelt corollary, its partial justification on strategic grounds, had disappeared with the defeat of Imperial Germany; and for a time the New World was unthreatened by the ambitions of the Old. The threat, however, was to be renewed, and this time was met in a new way. The emphasis was shifted; instead of a somewhat arrogant assertion of a right to protect the two continents from aggression was substituted a coöperative policy. This policy involved, using words in their broadest sense, a kind of internationalization of the Monroe Doctrine, not a formal internationalization but a substitution of coöperative for unilateral action. If the American people had been unduly attached to a formula for a formula's sake, there should have been some opposition to this policy, but no such opposition appeared. It was possible for the Roosevelt administration to bind the Latin-American states to the United States by closer bonds. At Buenos Ayres the principle of consultation in case of threatened attack was accepted; at Lima in 1938 it was given a more precise form and the machinery provided to apply it; and, when the Second World War burst on the world, the solidarity of the American states was strikingly demonstrated, even though it was not perfect. This solidarity was no doubt, in essence, a recognition of essential common interests and of a common danger; but who can estimate the importance of the assumption (questionable though it may be) that the institutions of democracy were similar in both North and South America? If there was an ideological assumption in the Monroe Doctrine and in the good-neighbor policy, it was an assumption that strengthened and fortified, rather than weakened, the practical purposes of American diplomacy. It was not theory perverting the course of action but theory giving it fuller meaning.

The policies followed during the Second World War illustrate also how useful the Monroe Doctrine could still be. In the thirties, as the good-neighbor policy took form, one heard less and less of the famous dogma; but in the early forties it was suddenly revived. President Monroe would have been astounded to learn that Greenland came within the scope of his famous declaration; but so it did. He would have been less surprised, perhaps, at the enunciation, or rather the reenunciation, of the addition to the doctrine which put a veto on the transfer of European territory in the New World from one nation to another, and at the formalization of this principle in the Declaration of Havana; and he would doubtless have approved the doctrine, also laid down at Havana, that an act of aggression against any American state would be considered an act of aggression against all. He would have agreed that every one of these policies served the real interest of the United States.

The rest of the story of the Monroe Doctrine, and its transformation, belongs more properly to the history of the idea of collective security. But let us first take a backward look at the ground that we have already traversed and see what generalizations I have sought to establish. The case runs something like this. Bold and sweeping assertions of general principle are likely to be characteristic of American foreign policy; they have a close relationship to the nature of popular government; they have an immense appeal to the average citizen, who is no expert in detail. It is by no means the case, however, that they necessarily win universal and immediate acceptance; indeed, they are likely at first to be the subjects of partisan attack. This partisan attack may well proceed from ignoble motives; we shall all agree that there can be too much partisanship in foreign affairs; but it serves the useful purpose of provoking an examination of the important question as to whether the doctrine that has been formulated serves the true interest of the United States. In the course of time, the dogma itself will gain strength as it does in reality serve these interests. Even then, however, it will be placed in a practical context; it will be applied with some regard to the risks involved; and it will be given a new color and form as the world situation itself changes. There is little to suggest that the American people will become doctrinaire in their attachment to any principle; and this constitutes one of the strengths of their national temperament, and it is, indeed, one of the incidents of popular government. Both sides of a question can always get themselves represented in a democracy; and the result is often an extremely satisfactory one. I am not saying, of course, that blunders will never be made; but these blunders seem by great odds subordinate to the wisdom of a diplomacy dependent upon the mass of the people.

Let us then turn to the doctrine of collective security; to the idea that an act of aggression by any state constitutes a threat to world society, and must be proceeded against accordingly. This conception, I need hardly say, owes much to Woodrow Wilson. He did not originate it; he does not occupy quite the place with regard to it that President

Monroe does with regard to his famous declaration; but he was one of the first Americans to perceive its importance, and he advocated it publicly before the end of his first term of office. He made the establishment of a system of collective security a *sine qua non* of the peace adjustments to follow the war as early as the seventeenth of January, 1917; and he made it a principal, shall we say *the* principal objective, in his great war message of the sixth of April, 1917. He contended valiantly for this principle at Paris; he gave his evenings, after weary day-long negotiation, to the drafting of the Charter of the League of Nations; he returned to America to fight for it; and he broke himself in the struggle to make his views prevail.

We all know what happened. Just as John Quincy Adams found that a very mild attempt to act in the spirit of Monroe's message evoked partisan opposition, so, in this case, Wilson, in propounding a new doctrine, found himself involved in a partisan controversy. The President himself was not in any sense conciliatory; and the net result was the failure of the Treaty of Versailles and American aloofness from the League of Nations itself.

It is no part of our present theme to discuss the various problems concerned in the defeat of the Wilsonian dream or attempt to fix the responsibility for the unhappy events of 1919 and 1920. But there are several things that we *must* say. In one sense Wilson was prophetic. In his tour through the country in the fall of 1919, just preceding his final breakdown, he declared more than once that if the United States did not associate itself with the other nations of the world for the preservation of peace, the next generation would be compelled, in its turn, to go forth to battle for its own safety and the freedom of the Western World. Yet it is not strange that in 1920 the people of the United States were not inclined to accept this view. A great power for evil had been defeated; the only other really great power on the continent of Europe was in the throes of revolution, and could hardly threaten the peace for a considerable time to come; and the idea that the American government was to constitute itself the policeman of the whole world was one so ambitious and so extensive as to raise some doubts in the minds of the most idealistic. The country was not spiritually or morally prepared for such a commitment; and even those of us who saw with pain the repudiation of the Covenant of the League of Nations must, by this time, have come fully to recognize this fact. Indeed, it is very doubtful whether Wilson proposed his idea at a propitious time. In 1920 a return to normalcy seemed possible; certainly it seemed possible to those whose vision was restricted to the immediate scene. It was natural that the opposition should capitalize this fact; and, though we may deplore the spirit in which much of the debate was conducted, we can understand that genuine issues lay behind the partisanship.

Yet, once the struggle was over, the League made its impression on the American mind. The idea that aggressive war was immoral took root, and this idea began to influence American policy. One of the best illustrations of this fact is the Kellogg Pact for the preservation of peace, negotiated in 1928. This pact, to Europeans, seems the height of political naïveté, the extraordinary product of a diplomacy based upon the simplicities of popular judgment in a country unsophisticated in the ways of the world. It consisted merely of a pledge on the part of the signatories not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy. It was indeed a sign of political immaturity that such a pact as this had the overwhelming support of public opinion, that Secretary Kellogg was prodded into it by a wide popular demand. International politics is a tough and hard game; and anyone who imagines that high-sounding declarations are of its essence and can replace the sterner instruments of peace—arms and men—is much in need of further instruction. But those who promoted the pact, or at least some of the more far-seeing of them, had a more practical view of the problem than zealots like Samuel Levinson, with whom the idea seems to have originated, or mountain statesmen like Borah, who gave it his hearty support. They believed that once such a declaration was made it would have to be implemented; that the United States, having signed such a document, would have to act in defense of the peace when the threat came.

It cannot be said, however, that the American people assimilated that conception for some time to come, and it was they alone who could give it vitality. In the Manchurian crisis of 1931 Secretary Stimson would have liked, apparently, to take some measures against Japan, to act with the League in enforcing the principles of the Covenant. He did not meditate the use of armed force; but he did at least think of the possibility of an economic embargo. But this idea was vetoed by President Hoover, and there are few signs that it had any deep-rooted support in public opinion. Perhaps the world would have been better off if things had been different; but that is not a question for the historian. It was much the same when, in 1935, Mussolini defied the League with the conquest of Ethiopia; American opinion was by no means ready to meet the challenge of the Italian dictator. The despatches of Secretary Hull show an almost nervous fear of doing something effective, an almost jittery concern for the political aspects of the matter, and perhaps it ought to be said that only if the doctrine of collective security were wholeheartedly accepted was there reason for America to take up this particular challenge, which touched no vital economic or security interest. At any rate, nothing happened; in this case, as in the previous one, the people of the United States apparently did not feel that their vital interests were concerned.

But it was far different with the rise of Adolf Hitler. As his sinister purposes became evident, American opinion altered. It was led, of course, by a great President of the United States. But anyone who has studied the course of events in 1939 and 1940 in detail can hardly escape the conclusion that Franklin Roosevelt led because there were plenty of followers. He was the last man in the world to adopt hopeless causes, and his attitude toward the general problem of collective security is shown by the complacency with which he accepted the neutrality legislation of 1935, 1936, and 1937 at a time when the drift of public sentiment was toward what we have learned to describe as "isolationism." The bizarre theory that Roosevelt dragged us along a course which we scarcely understood, plotted and schemed to bring about hostilities, has been adopted by some reputable historians, but it is not likely to stand the test of historical analysis or the sober judgment of the future chroniclers of the nation. Behind Roosevelt stood the American people.

So the old ideas of neutrality were discarded in principle, and a kind of quasi-belligerency took its place. The repeal of the statute forbidding the shipment of arms and materials of war to belligerents can be regarded merely as a return to the ancient principles of international law; but the bases-destroyer deal of September, 1940, however draped in the gauzy garment of legality, surely was defensible only on a new theory of national action. Still more, the lend-lease enactment of 1941 was justifiable only by reference to new principles of policy. Let it be remembered, too, that in this same period, the administration was extending loans to China in its struggle against Japan.

I do not mean that the acts of which I have just been speaking are a full expression of the doctrine of collective security. They were based, not so much on theory as on interest, on the fear of a victorious Germany and of a victorious Japan. But they led away from the old notion of neutrality; they expressed a tendency towards a new doctrine. That tendency was fortified as the war proceeded; and, before its end, the new doctrine had been placed in the way of wider acceptance. Preceding the Charter conference of San Francisco came the Pan-American meeting at Mexico City, which evoked the Declaration of Chapultepec. This declaration laid down the principle, already stated in the Act of Havana, that an act of aggression against any one of the signatory powers was an act of aggression against all, and proceeded to implement this principle by listing a series of measures which the contracting parties were to take in case of any breach of the peace. This occurred in February, 1945. Soon after came the Charter of the United Nations. Here, more sharply defined, and in more concrete form was the doctrine for which Woodrow Wilson had contended a quarter of a century before; but this time its reception by the country was very different indeed. This time no cantankerous debate awaited the instrument in the Senate of the United States; the vote by which the treaty was ratified was 87 to 2; and this vote may be said to reflect the overwhelming sentiment of the American people. This time they were much disposed to accept what had been received with relative indifference in 1919; and so the idea of collective security was written into the law of the land and was embodied in the treaty law of the United States.

Since 1945 there have been increasing signs that this idea is being taken seriously. The most important and sweeping declaration ever made by a President of the United States is the declaration of President Truman that the United States stands ready to assist any nation which is menaced by outside aggression, a declaration which was speedily implemented by the grant of assistance to Greece and Turkey. In the same year, the conference of Rio reënacted the guarantees contained in the Act of Chapultepec. In 1948 came the Vandenberg Resolution, an invitation to the administration to negotiate a pact with the nations of Europe; and, in 1949, the North Atlantic Pact was duly signed and ratified. Since then the United States has responded directly to an act of open aggression by giving assistance to the government of Korea, and Secretary Acheson has negotiated a defense agreement with the nations of the Pacific. All these steps represent an attempt to give practical substance to the general principle under examination.

There are many interesting observations that can be made about this development. In the first place, it is to be noticed that every one of these steps had the sanction of an overwhelming majority of the Congress and, one must infer, of American public opinion. The Convention of Rio was ratified unanimously by the Senate. The North Atlantic Pact was approved by a vote of 83 to 12. The bill for aid to Greece and Turkey was enacted by a Republican Congress, and by substantial majorities. The President's response to aggression in Korea has been endorsed by very wide segments of opinion, by General MacArthur, on the one hand, and by the thick and thin supporters of the administration on the other. In the current presidential campaign, both candidates have not hesitated to state that Truman's action was wise and desirable. Both have insisted that there must be no capitulation to the aggressor. All of these things demonstrate how the idea of collective security is being assimilated into American opinion.

But there are already clear signs that, as was the case with the Monroe Doctrine, the new doctrine is not going to be interpreted in some dogmatic and rigid fashion which might lead to difficulty. For example, the Convention of Rio, while pledging the various signatory states to common action against a peace-breaking state, does not require of the parties that they go to war. To ask this of all the states of Latin America without regard to the interests concerned would be Utopian. This has not been done. The Atlantic Pact, on the other hand, explicitly mentions armed force as one of the elements involved in the enforcement of its obligations. The transcendent significance of preserving Western Europe from attack has been clearly recognized in the language of the treaty. The Truman Doctrine, on the other hand, was phrased in very general terms, terms that commit no one to giving concrete assistance.

There are critics of the doctrine of collective security who predict all kinds of baneful consequences from its growing vogue. Mr. George Kennan, for example, one of the ablest and most articulate of American professional diplomats, is much worried by the fear that in practice collective security will bind the United States to "all-out" war, that the necessary consequences of the doctrine are that evil must not only be punished but completely put down, and that, in the logic of things, action against aggression can never be stopped short of unconditional surrender on the part of the aggressor.

But the course of events in Korea seems to refute this fear. There were, it is true, partisans of "all-out" war after our entry into South Korea. Of these the most eminent, the most vocal, and potentially the most influential was General MacArthur. Yet the general's views of sound policy in this matter were by no means accepted by the American people. He came home; he was acclaimed as the great soldier that he was; and his views were ignored! As time went on, the eloquence of his speech to Congress was followed by more plaintive utterances and, before very long, he abandoned the Korean issue to utter jeremiads against the general wickedness of the Truman administration and the corruption of the times. By July of 1952 he was unable to command any important support in his campaign for the presidency, and he has now withdrawn to labor arduously (so I hope we may assume) to spread the products of Remington Rand throughout the world. We hear little of "all-out" war, or total victory, in the Far East; and neither of the candidates of the two great political parties in 1952 seemed likely to endorse any such policy. Instead, we are now engaged in negotiation in Korea and, though we still maintain, in theory, that the unification of all Korea is the objective of American policy, we are making it fairly plain that we should be satisfied with a settlement that deprived the aggressor of any of the fruits of his aggression. The whole Korean episode seems to refute the melancholy assumptions of Mr. Kennan.

There is another aspect of the actual application of the collective-security idea which bothered Kennan. He calls attention in his Chicago lectures to the great difficulties that are involved in the working of any alliance, and suggests that these will be multiplied by the adoption of this new principle. That alliances work with clock-like precision and unqualified smoothness is not to be contended, or indeed to be expected. But here again the American people seem to know how to reconcile themselves to reality. In the Korean case, they have, on the whole, recognized the difficulties involved in bringing to bear the power of a great number of nations in a given theatre of war. They have certainly not expressed widespread discontent with the rôle played by our associates. They seem even to recognize that, where common action is necessary, mutual regard for the interests concerned is prescribed by the very circumstances of the case. And, unless we believe that "all-out" war in the Orient was precisely what the doctor ordered, we can say with some assurance that, in practice, the influence of our allies has been a healthy one in the Korean struggle.

The doctrine of collective security is too new for us to generalize confidently about it in the broad sense, or to predict its future. But, from what we can see today, we can discern that the ideological and the practical are likely to be mingled in its application. Without it, without the place that it has come to occupy in the American mind, it is doubtful whether the American people could have been brought to that epoch-making breach with the past that is represented by our present policy of alliances and regional understanding. Without it, something of the moral strength of the American position would have been undermined. Without it, the nations of Europe might well have been abandoned to the ambition of the Kremlin. And, in the future, it seems probable that it will continue to serve the interests of the United States, while still expressing a lofty aspiration. This great self-governing nation entered on the stage of the world, in the diplomatic sense, little more than fifty years ago. Yet its popular government has not prevented it from making many decisions fully as wise as those that have been made by dictators; and the preoccupation of the body of the people with broad general ideas has not prevented the wise application of these ideas in practice.

Let us contrast American diplomacy with that of the dictators. After all, think of Germany under the leadership of Hitler, blindfolded and in chains, dragged to its own destruction; or think of Italy, led far from the course of sound policy by the senseless ambition and vanity of Mussolini; or of the Japanese, dominated by a small military clique which utterly miscalculated national strength and interest; and then think of the United States. Errors, of course, there have been in the diplomacy of this great self-governing nation; but all these have been minor compared with the gross blunders of the autocrats. In seeking its own interest, the American people have, in fact, both in the Monroe Doctrine and in the Doctrine of Collective Security, been serving the interests of others; they have been moving toward a world in which barren and inflamed nationalism will yield to wider views. And they have been moving along practical lines. What more needs to be said about the relationship of diplomacy to popular government?

A Postscript to
Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL[1]

THE Daily Personnel Report of the United States Naval Hospital, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for June 25, 1956, contained among its statistics of patients the laconic entry:

KING, Ernest Joseph FADM USN Discharged by death

which recorded the end of nearly sixty years of single-minded devotion to the United States Navy. Admiral King's death at 2:45 P.M. on that early summer Monday afternoon, from an acute heart failure brought on by high blood pressure, ended nearly nine years of determined struggle against physical obstacles that would have years before completely defeated a less determined man.[2]

Upon his relief as Chief of Naval Operations by Admiral Nimitz on December 15, 1945, Admiral King was ordered to duty in the office of the Secretary of the Navy. Free of crushing responsibility for the first time in five years,[3] he returned to the spacious but Spartanly barren office on the third floor of the Navy Department building in Constitution Avenue that he had occupied during the war.[4]

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[1] At the April 12, 1951, meeting of the Society I had reported on the progress of Admiral King's biography, on which I had been working since 1946. As *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record* was published in New York by W. W. Norton & Company, Incorporated, in November, 1952, and in London (with considerable abridgement as to Books One and Two) by Eyre & Spottiswoode in 1953, it would be pointless to print the paper that I read at that time, for its contents were summarized in the final chapter, entitled "A Note on the Making of this Book." Instead, I take the opportunity to complete the record by a brief account of Admiral King's last years, accompanied by a few things that I felt deeply, but could not appropriately say while he was my co-author.

[2] I am grateful to Mr. Joseph W. P. Frost, of Kittery Point, Maine, for sending me this and other similar ephemeral Portsmouth reports of Admiral King's death that I would not, save through his thoughtfulness, have seen.

[3] He took command in the Atlantic on December 17, 1940, just two days short of five years before his relief by Admiral Nimitz.

[4] Illustrated in *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, opposite 368. King's headquarters as Commander in Chief, United States Fleet, were hastily improvised in December, 1941, on the third floor of the Navy Department. When upon Admiral Stark's departure for London in March, 1942, King became Commander in Chief, United States Fleet and Chief of Naval Operations, he remained on the third floor in room 3048 and installed Vice Admiral F. J. Horne, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, in the traditional second floor office of the Chief of Naval Operations. King felt so strongly that the Chief of Naval Operations should be the top man in the Navy (see *Fleet Admiral King*, 355, 631-632) that one of his

Five-star officers have the right to remain on active duty if they choose, and after more than forty-eight years of service no other life attracted King. He did not know how to loaf gracefully, and had no desire to learn. Nor had he any inclination to sell his name as an ornament to industry or the popular press nor to seek public office. He wisely chose to remain in character, doubtless realizing that the qualities of direct and logical action that permitted him to achieve the impossible in wartime would have proved a serious handicap in civilian or political life in peacetime. He had never cultivated the art of diplomatic address, and he had no aptitude for political bargaining. The most withering term of contempt in his vocabulary was "fixer," which he occasionally applied in conversation when referring to officers who particularly enjoyed duty in the Bureau of Naval Personnel and remained too long there.

While King was the greatest man that I have ever known on terms of friendly intimacy, or am likely to encounter in the future, I should be the last to deny that he was an unevenly developed man, for while his intellect and will power were towering, his human emotions were rudimentary in comparison to the Olympian magnitude of other sides of his character. Admiral W. V. Pratt summed matters up rather well in 1933 when he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy:

> Captain King has certain characteristics which make him an outstanding officer—
>
> (a) He is highly intelligent.
> (b) He is extremely active and energetic.
> (c) He is very forceful.
> (d) He is a flyer and pilot.
> (e) He is a man of great decision of character.
> (f) He is a good strategist and tactician.
> (g) He is not as tactful as some men but he is very direct.
> (h) He is trustworthy.
> (i) He is due for promotion to the position of Rear Admiral.[5]

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main concerns after the Japanese victory was the abolition of the function of COMINCH and the strengthening of the Chief of Naval Operations. When this was accomplished on October 10, 1945, King very characteristically at once moved himself and the principal members of his staff to the second floor, although this physical transfer (useful chiefly as a symbol to civil servants) involved him in considerable personal inconvenience. For a few days no one knew where any one was. I recall meeting one of his Guamanian stewards, bearing a pot of coffee, hopelessly adrift in a second floor corridor, saying to me with a despondent look on his face, "Can't find Admiral Edwards."

[5] King, from the beginning of his naval service, always had a legitimate desire to reach the top of his profession. On April 13, 1933, after seven years' experience in naval aviation, he

These were the qualities which were to carry him through World War II when he had to attempt to make something out of nothing by doing the best he could with what he had. Under such conditions the simplicity of his emotions became one of his greatest strengths, for he was able to concentrate the portentous power of an iron will upon enforcing a carefully reasoned decision, without being distracted by considerations that would have affected a man of more complex character.

One of his successors as Chief of Naval Operations, the late Admiral Forrest Sherman, recalled in an address at the Naval Academy on December 5, 1947:

> In December 1941 it happened that I was with Admiral Stark in his office when Admiral King, then Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, arrived in the Navy Department and first learned the full extent of the damage at Pearl Harbor. I shall never forget the emotions evidenced by the face of Admiral King—an initial expression of sorrow—with some moisture visible in his eyes—followed immediately by an expression of cold determination, a determination which continued unrelaxed while for four years he overcame all obstacles, did his best with initially inadequate forces, gathered men and material, created and directed the greatest Navy ever conceived, and drove through to victory. Never overlook the part played by that great man in the distant victories which brought fame to others.[6]

Sometimes, when resources were lacking, matters had to be put in motion by sheer force of personality. Samuel Eliot Morison described a clipper ship coming into port, "crew leaping into the rigging to furl the sails as if shot upward by the blast of profanity from the mate's bull-like throat."[7] Something similar is indicated in Admiral R. S. Edwards's recollection of how the Bora Bora convoy was speeded towards its goal by Admiral King.

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wrote the Secretary of the Navy requesting that he be considered for appointment as Chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics. Admiral Pratt, the Chief of Naval Operations, who had suggested that he make this formal application, gave this analysis in his forwarding endorsement. King got the job in less than a month.

[6] I owe a copy of the draft of this address to Admiral D. B. Duncan, who, during his years of able and inconspicuous service as Vice Chief of Naval Operations, had (like Admiral R. S. Edwards before him) kept alive the spirit of Lord Barham. Admiral Sherman in this address had quoted Sir Julian Corbett's description of Barham in *The Campaign of Trafalgar:* "Unseen and almost unnoticed he was gathering in his fingers the threads of the tradition which the recurring wars had spun, and handling them with a deft mastery to which the distant fleets gave sensitive response."

[7] *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1921), 373.

> This convoy was hastily got together in January 1942 to carry base material, SeaBees and a small Army garrison to Bora Bora. Some of the transports and cargo vessels that had to be used were in very poor condition. In consequence there were appeals to delay sailing to give time for repairs. Admiral King, sensing that here was an opportunity to inculcate the spirit of regarding difficulties as a challenge, blew the roof off in a series of heated exhortations to all concerned, principally the Director of Naval Transportation Service and the Commandant of the Navy Yard at Charleston, S. C., the final port of departure. The resulting speed-up of preparations was little short of miraculous, considering the conditions that existed at the time. The incident is of some interest because it established the fact that the newly-installed Cominch was Bull of the Woods and intended to exact the utmost in performance.[8]

To me the most perceptive observation ever made about Admiral King are the words italicized in the statement[9] issued on the day of his death by the present Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Arleigh A. Burke.

> Coupled with the penetrating mind of extraordinary brilliance Adm. King was blessed with complete intellectual integrity and the undeviating courage of his convictions. His conclusions were logical and his beliefs unshakeable. Many times he adhered doggedly to his reasoned beliefs in the face of tremendous opposition and *no pressure except the pressure of logic could make him back down.*[10]

A similar thought was amplified in the tribute from King's classmate and close friend, Rear Admiral Julius A. Furer, that was published in the August, 1956, issue of *Shipmate.*

> In dealing, during World War II, with his superiors and high ranking opposite numbers in other services his forthrightness saved much of the wear and tear that goes with the polite circumlocutions characteristic of upper level conferences. It also prevented the misunderstandings that so often are fatal to effective collaboration between allies. No one was ever left in doubt as to where King stood on any question. He had no pride of authorship if he could be shown that the position he had taken was in error. From the time he entered the Naval Academy he had no liking for bowing the head or bending the knee and his boiling point was always low. Even Franklin Roosevelt changed the subject when he saw the color rising in Ernie's face. He had tenacity of purpose, an inflexible courage, and an unbending will which never flinched before any antagonist or difficulty. His determination not to allow the war in the Pacific to be relegated

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[8] Personal letter from Admiral R. S. Edwards of August 24, 1951.

[9] Published, among hundreds of places throughout the naval service, in *The Portsmouth Periscope*, June 29, 1956, with the report of Admiral King's death.

[10] The incident at the TRIDENT conference, described in *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, 441, is typical. "It was pointed out to him that everyone else was in agreement against him, *but he did not consider that relevant when a matter of principle was involved.*"

> too far to the rear in the overall war effort and his courage in taking the calculated risks that were necessary early in the war undoubtedly brought the war with Japan to a much speedier victory than had at first been considered possible. Thereby, thousands of American lives were saved.
>
> His overall contribution to the greatest naval war in history was second to none. Ernest King was a towering figure in those crucial years of national peril; a towering figure in bringing victory to the whole Allied world.

In theory King was after the war an adviser of the Secretary of the Navy, but it seemed, at least to an outside observer, that little use was made of his incomparable abilities and experience. King and James Forrestal, although they respected each other, thought differently on many points and were temperamentally incapable of a mutual liking. A letter that King wrote on May 18, 1944, to Frank Knox's close friend, Rawleigh Warner, suggests the climate of relations between King and Forrestal from the moment that the latter succeeded to the secretaryship.

> Despite your expectations I was *not* consulted as to the filling of the big vacancy.
>
> I am sure that it will be of interest to you to know that, after due reflection, I went yesterday afternoon to the new incumbent and laid the situation on the line, as I saw it, about my feeling as to the agencies and activities of the Navy in general and the Navy Department in particular. It was an unpalatable job for me but I am bound to say that it was, all things considered, received amiably enough. Anyway, I have done what I thought I had to do. Among other things that I took up was the matter of what I have called the "cleavage" organisation in the Navy Department, on which it was said that my judgment in the matter was accepted, so I hope there will be no more of that.

Although they worked together to good purpose during the next nineteenth months, the end of the war brought problems that accentuated rather than minimized the difference in King's and Forrestal's approaches. Thus during the first two years after the war, few official demands were made upon King's time or thoughts. During 1946 and the first half of 1947 he remained chiefly in the Navy Department, quietly reviewing the crowded events of the preceding years and planning a narrative of the international conferences in which he had participated.

From the autumn of 1943 I had been doing chores for Admiral King's successive Flag Secretaries, Captains Orem and Dietrich.[11] At the desk that I occupied in their crowded office—room 3047—across the corridor, I had come to know the thoughts and personality of Admiral King through his papers—including those formidable yellow chits with a very few pencilled words followed by the initial "K," which were capable of setting mighty events in motion—but I was entirely without personal knowledge of him. Just as a pair of footprints or a vacant chair served to represent the Buddha in the earliest Buddhist art, so the sound of a buzzer summoning the Flag Secretary to room 3048 was the only symbol of Admiral King in room 3047, yet his unseen presence dominated the room. Had there been time, one could have written a play, with a chorus of WAVE yeomen, about this office that would have given considerable insight into the character of the man for whose service it existed.

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[11] Now Vice Admiral Howard E. Orem, U.S.N. (retired), and Rear Admiral Neil K. Dietrich, U.S.N.

I had in 1945, from the comfort of a hideaway normally used for visiting flag officers, which was one of the few quiet and peaceful places in a fantastically confused and overcrowded building, drafted the admiral's second and third reports to the Secretary of the Navy on the progress of the war. In thoughtful acknowledgment I had been sent a copy of Maurice Constant's fine photograph[12] of the admiral, inscribed "with appreciation and with best wishes," and an official letter of commendation for my "efficient performance of duty" which stated that I had "displayed soundness of judgment and unusual aptitude to vary [my][13] writing style to conform to that used by Fleet Admiral King." I had heard him speak at a massing of the colors ceremony outside Washington Cathedral on May 21, 1944.[14] I had passed him in corridors, as on that spring morning in 1945 when news of the sinking of the Japanese battleship *Yamato* was being broadcast over the public address system in the Navy Department. Admiral King and Admiral Edwards emerged from one third-floor doorway and disappeared shortly into another, so deep in conversation about the future, that neither of them even observed hundreds of officers, enlisted men, WAVES, and civil servants piling into corridors in an excitement that foreshadowed the V-E day that was so soon to follow.

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[12] In this study, contrary to the wishes of the photographer (who did a fine series of photographs of flag officers) the subject wore his cap. King had so little time for or patience with posed portrait studies that most of his wartime likenesses were caught by civilian or naval news photographers in passing. Notable exceptions were Lieutenant Constant's black and white portrait, Edward Steichen's color photograph of October, 1943 (reproduced in *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, opposite 496) and the March, 1945, color photograph taken in the conference room at COMINCH Headquarters (reproduced opposite 592). The latter was achieved under typical circumstances. For some weeks following King's promotion to Fleet Admiral in December, 1944, public-relations officers had been clamoring for a photograph showing him wearing the extra stripe of the new five-star rank. Finally in March, 1945, King grudgingly agreed to give a very few minutes to this uncongenial operation. Knowing that he was as good as his word, everything had been set up in advance so that the subject could practically walk in front of the camera and out the door. King arrived, stepped into position, and, just as the shutter was about to click, some unfortunate character nervously tripped over a cord and blew the lights. Precious seconds slipped away, but just as the time was up and King was about to leave, the damage was repaired and the lens caught COMINCH–CNO with an expression that—in ancient Chinese military tactics—would have proved invaluable for frightening the enemy. During the years 1952–1956 when I was Allston Burr Senior Tutor of Lowell House, Harvard University, I paired this photograph of Admiral King with D. C. Sturges's etching of Dean Briggs on my office walls to keep my mind in balance while dealing with undergraduate breaches of industry or decorum.

In the summer of 1944 I had been ordered to assemble the documentation for a history of the establishment of and succeeding changes in the organization of COMINCH headquarters.[15] As the files were scanty, particularly for the early months of 1942 when everything was happening at once, there were many points of organization that could be determined only by talking with Admiral King.[16]

Thus it came about that on Lincoln's birthday in 1946 I was ushered into the vastly empty 3048 Navy Department for my first meeting with him. He received me with an air of leisurely cordiality, gave me a cigarette and waved me to a leather arm chair. The physique of the man I saw revealed both life-long habits of self-discipline and British ancestry. His lean body did not sag or bulge. Photographs represented his face exceptionally faithfully, for there was little variation of hue in his healthy skin; it was not the color but the keenness of his brown eyes that struck you; the pointed nose, the firm mouth and chin were what you remembered. A voice that was neither resonant nor richly modulated carried conviction from his decisive manner of utterance. In routine social interchange he spoke quickly and quietly without emphasis. When he was absorbed in his subject, words would explode impatiently from him in phrases as laconic as a set of signals. Upon occasion, though, when he was conveying contempt, there might be a slackening of pace and a suspicion of nasal twang to his speech. When out of uniform he wore tweed jackets and flannel trousers with ease, but a grey felt hat never sat on his bald head with quite the felicity of a naval cap.

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[13] In the original of March 23, 1945, "his."

[14] When, as was his usual practice, he read from a prepared text. See *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, 543. When letters or speeches were prepared for him, as was necessarily often the case, Admiral King would have no truck with them if their contents or expression were out of character. In November, 1942, a fulsome journalist in Public Relations drafted a flowery message of congratulation to the Chief of Staff of the U.S.S.R. Navy, which King summarily returned with a yellow chit reading, "Tone this down—I don't talk like this!!"

[15] Admiral Edwards, in a memorandum of July 15, 1944, to Admiral King concluded: "At present your headquarters is the only naval activity in Washington that is not being embalmed in historical amber, and it might be well to change this status. Shall I have Orem implement his plan?" A pencilled "Yes K" sent me to work on this project and opened all doors in a headquarters that otherwise was exclusively concerned with the present and the future.

[16] See *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, 353, for Admiral Edwards's inspired description of his first day in Washington.

It was a curious experience to compare the man with the portrait that I had formed of him from his papers, and find that the two exactly agreed. During the next four months, I often returned to 3048 Navy Department for long and fascinating conversations in which he not only answered my numerous questions with succinctness, simplicity and candor but voluntarily reminisced about the earlier years of his naval service. The unerring accuracy of King's memory, combined with his structural gift for stripping away all but the truly significant details, made these afternoons memorable. From notes scribbled in rapid long-hand, I would type a memorandum of the conversation and submit it for verification and correction. It seemed to me, as winter passed into spring, that the admiral enjoyed these conversations quite as much as I did, for they gave him an opportunity to speak quite freely and informally about matters that interested him. From the time a man commands a ship he of necessity has to become used to his own company, and in high naval command loneliness increases with responsibility.[17] The tradition of isolation, combined with the necessity of rationing time during the war, caused most of the admiral's visitors to pay rather brief and formal calls. I, on the other hand, was seeking information for legitimate and official reasons. Because I was in uniform, with some knowledge of what had gone on in his headquarters, he could assume that I would understand the significance of what he said, yet as I was only temporarily in that uniform I had no preconceptions or personal interests to hamper the freedom of conversation. Aside from the facts that my grandfather had been born in Paisley, Scotland, and the admiral's grandparents had lived a few miles down the Clyde at Bridge-of-Weir; that we both valued the friendship of Commodore Dudley W. Knox and both enjoyed Douglas Freeman's books and the fictional exploits of Horatio Hornblower and Colin Glencannon, we had nothing of a personal nature in common. Our lives and experiences could not have been more different, yet very early in our acquaintance I found that I was regarding King not only with respect and admiration but with a strong admixture of personal liking, which increased proportionately with the passage of time.

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[17] Admiral Forrest Sherman in his previously cited address said: "The life of Barham illustrates rather forcefully what has been called the loneliness of responsibility. It is unfortunately true—it even seems to be an inescapable law—that the greater our responsibilities the less prospect there is of sharing them."

During the spring of 1946, I became convinced that, upon leaving the Navy Department, I should try to write Admiral King's life. While he had no particular enthusiasm for the idea, he acquiesced gracefully enough, for, much as he disliked publicity, he knew that something of the kind was inevitable. He had seen enough of me to know that I shared his distaste for ballyhoo and sensationalism, and so, considering that my proposal was the least undesirable form of a necessary evil, agreed to it. Once again he decided quite simply in his own way what he wished to do, without reference to the commercial blandishments of publishers or magazines.

The piece of work that had originally brought us together was completed in June, 1946, and forwarded by Admiral King to the Director of Naval History on the nineteenth with a characteristic letter.

> 1. A History of Headquarters, Commander in Chief, United States Fleet, from 30 December 1941 to 10 October 1945, prepared by Commander W. M. Whitehill, USNR, and approved by me, is forwarded herewith for the use of the Office of Naval History.
>
> 2. A classification of RESTRICTED is considered adequate for the present.
>
> E. J. KING

At this time minor commands were sending in bulky narratives, sometimes in many volumes, classified SECRET or higher. For the top command, by contrast, there came 178 pages of text, plus 158 pages of supporting documents, personally approved by COMINCH, and classified in the lowest rank of the security scale.

On June 21, 1946, Admiral King flew to England to receive on the twenty-sixth the degree of D.C.L. from Oxford University—one of the honors that he valued most highly.[18] On the twenty-fourth I was ordered to inactive duty and headed immediately for Boston and the Athenæum. I next returned to Washington early in 1947 when Rear Admiral John B. Heffernan asked representatives of various universities and institutions to inspect the activities of the Office of Naval History. Having gone back to the Navy Department in civilian clothes for the somewhat Gilbert-and-Sullivan reason of examining what I had been involved in doing while in uniform, I called on Admiral King, who was to speak to the assembled visitors at dinner that night. Waving some papers at me, he remarked that Dudley Knox had written his speech for him. Later in the morning, when Commodore Knox said that it would be interesting to hear what King had to say at dinner, I suggested that it could hardly prove a great surprise to him. To this the commodore replied that, although he had given the admiral a few notes, King would use them in his own way. In the end both were right. After dinner Admiral King delivered himself of some well reasoned observations on naval history that clearly bore the Knox touch; then, shoving his hands in his jacket pocket, he gave first-hand recollections of Stalin at Teheran that were equally clearly pure King.

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[18] During the war he had received an LL.D. from the College of William and Mary (June 8, 1942) and degrees of Doctor of Science from Bowdoin College (June 2, 1945) and

Admiral King accepted in 1946 the presidency of the Naval Historical Foundation, which had been the personal creation of Commodore Knox, but otherwise he showed no willingness to hold office of any kind. His public appearances were few. On April 28, 1946, he addressed the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Columbus, Ohio; on May 7 he made a statement before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee in opposition to Senate Bill 2044 proposing a single department of national defense; on February 27, 1947, he spoke at the Winter Forum of Elgin Academy, Elgin, Illinois, on "The Navy and National Security." He gave a major summary of the grand strategy of the war at the Town Hall Meeting in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, on March 21, 1946, and on April 29, 1947, addressed the National War College on "Some Aspects of the High Command in World War II." While perfectly prepared to state his views if requested to do so in a civil manner, he showed no readiness to push himself before the public. Most of his days were passed in an inconspicuous self-imposed rou-

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Harvard University (June 28, 1945). His other post-war degrees were D.Sc., Northwestern University (October 26, 1945), LL.D., Princeton University (February 22, 1946), LL.D., Miami University (June 2, 1946), and LL.D., Columbia University (February 21, 1947).

tine in his office in the Navy Department.[19] Thus matters stood until August, 1947, when, as a delayed consequence of the strains and exertions of the war, he suffered a brain hemorrhage that for a time deprived him of the power of speech and caused him to take up residence on the seventeenth floor of the Naval Medical Center at Bethesda. There, at his bedside, President Truman presented the gold medal voted to him by the Seventy-ninth Congress "on behalf of a grateful nation."

King's illness was of a severity that would have made a helpless invalid out of a less determined or less physically strong man. Wartime commanders who had borne lighter loads than he were dying with distressing frequency. Gradually by sheer determination he recovered his speech,[20] and before the end of the year was making regular trips from Bethesda to the Navy Department in a modification of his old routine. Once again he had demonstrated the power of will over seemingly insuperable obstacles.

During King's illness I temporarily suspended work on his biography, for while I could have drafted a brief life with the material then in hand, it seemed undesirable to do so if there were a possibility of getting further data from him. I therefore waited, and in mid-December, 1947, was told by his aide that his convalescence had reached the stage where he was anxious to proceed. Therefore I began to go to Washington whenever I could spare the time, and spent many hours talking with him and reviewing documents that he lent me. While words sometimes eluded him, the quality and clarity of his thought remained unaltered, and the accuracy of his memory survived, as I was able to check from documents that I turned up independently. We would often drive out into Virginia, for he liked to be in motion, and enjoyed the rich farming landscape. He would have the car stopped at a rustic four-corners and explain to me the details of a minor Civil War cavalry action, for he had remembered everything from his early exploration of the Virginia battlefields. Every feature of the landscape suggested some military use. Once when he pointed to a hillside as a likely place for artillery, I suggested that if he put guns there he would obviously be a Confederate, defending the Shenandoah Valley. "Not necessarily," he replied, "just repelling Russians or anybody you please." He drove me past General Marshall's house in Leesburg, and then showed me many sites that he would have preferred, had he been buying a house in the vicinity. Between visits he would write out in laborious longhand recollections of his early life, in strictly inexorable chronology, which would, after typing, be sent on to me to supplement material that I had gathered on my own.

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[19] With the shifts and changes of the post-war years, when the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations moved to the Pentagon and the Army took over parts of the Navy Department building in Constitution Avenue, King gave up his spacious office in room 3048 and compressed himself into room 3046, which during the war had been occupied by some of his aides. In 1949 he moved downstairs to room 1078, next to offices provided for Fleet Admirals Leahy and Halsey.

[20] I have been told that he showed little interest in the hospital's suggested therapy. One day, however, when a hospital corpsman dropped a tray of dishes, the admiral expressed his opinion of such clumsiness in a clear, succinct and typical way. At this point it was concluded that he would make progress in his own particular way, if let alone; he did!

On July 8, 1948, the late Douglas S. Freeman wrote me:

> As I may have told you, I have been so impressed by the difficulties of handling in scientific spirit any documents written by living men concerning the Second World War that I have declined all overtures to write or to edit the work of others. Knowing you to be a scholar I do not see how you can do anything except in one or the other of two lines of action—to write the memoir and fight out the revision with Admiral King, or to have him write it and you revise it. Any compromise between these alternatives is almost certain to confuse future readers.

To this I replied on July 13, 1948:

> My relations with Admiral King in this venture are eminently satisfactory, as I am writing this memoir and giving it to him for revision. He submits in a most amiable fashion to my requests for information and is himself sending me copious memoranda concerning his recollections of his early life.
>
> The difficulties of handling contemporary documents are indeed great, but I feel that I am in a fortunate position in this particular case because of the straightforwardness and clarity of the Admiral's character. I have never known a man who was less of a politician and who said more clearly what he meant, come hell or high water. The problem becomes, therefore, one of simple exposition, for which I am relieved.

Thus it remained to the end, without change. Two incidents in the course of the work seem to be of sufficient historiographical interest to warrant mention.

I had known King from his papers for a considerable time before I came to know him in person, yet when I met him I found that he corresponded to my mental picture of him. This experience with a living man suggests, as Charles P. Curtis pointed out to me in 1951, the possibility that the portrait of someone long dead, reconstructed by a historian from the subject's writing and correspondence, *may* be a respectably accurate likeness. Although by no means certain, it is at least a possibility, particularly with a monolithic and single-minded subject.

The second point is less reassuring, for it introduces an element of doubt in the interpretation of supposedly unimpeachable documents. When the Army monograph on the Guadalcanal campaign was nearing completion, a copy of the manuscript was sent to Admiral King for comment. He returned it with the criticism that too much space was wasted on low-level planning papers that were of no importance. When it was pointed out to him that the documents he depreciated were all the work of Joint Chiefs of Staff planners, King countered by the irrefutable observation that no use had been made of them in planning the operation, which he and Marshall had had to do in such haste that they had had no time even to look at them; hence they were of no importance in establishing the evolution of the plan. This introduces the disquieting possibility that, without the personal testimony of participants as a guide, the historian may place undue importance upon a seemingly reliable document that is, in fact, nothing more than a red herring.

King had been taken sick in extremely hot weather, and, very probably because of this, the summer heat of Washington became exceptionally distasteful to him. During a visit that I made in the spring of 1949 we conceived the idea of his coming to the United States Naval Hospital at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for the summer. There he would find a more tolerable climate, and also be more readily in touch with me. Thus it came about that during 1949 and succeeding summers he came frequently to our house in North Andover for weekend visits. While it might have seemed to those unfamiliar with his ways that putting up Admiral King would be a little like domesticating the Washington Monument, he was one of the easiest and most considerate of guests, for his wants were simple and he always said what he meant and meant what he said without affectation or pseudo-consideration. If asked when he would like breakfast, he would say, "At eight o'clock, please." You could then be certain that at eight o'clock precisely—not at 7:59 or 8:02—he would present himself at the breakfast table.

Sir Arthur Bryant, in *The Turn of the Tide,* quotes Sir Ian Jacob's impressions of King at the Casablanca conference of January, 1943.

> He seems to wear a protective covering of horn which it is hard to penetrate.... His manners are good as a rule, but he is angular and stiff and finds it difficult, if not impossible, really to unbend. I am convinced, however, that there is much more to him than appears on the surface, and that if one could get beneath the horn shell that one would be surprised at what one would find beneath.[21]

The horn shell appeared so opaque to many who were King's colleagues in great matters, that it seems worth recording what I, for one, found beneath it.

One attribute of a great man is the ability to make complicated matters seem simple. From all my relations with King, I chiefly carried away a sense of wonder at the inexorable simplicity and directness of his thoughts and expression. Admiral Richard S. Edwards once observed to me that it was Admiral King's "custom to encourage free and uninhibited debate until he had absorbed all points of view. He would then come forth with a clear-cut scheme, usually so obviously applicable as to cause all concerned to wonder why they had not thought of it themselves." My greatest problem in reducing his views to paper was to do so in a way that would make it clear that these deceptively simple-sounding ideas, and these alone, were the principles that had guided to speedy victory in a war of unprecedented magnitude the greatest fleet the world had ever known.[22]

My problem was further complicated by the monolithic simplicity of King's character, for here was a man who was all of a piece, without any of the endearing chiaroscuro that lightens the biographer's task. When Sir Winston Churchill disposes of a cold grouse and a bottle of white wine as a pre-breakfast snack before sunrise, even his political enemies cannot repress a momentary admiration for so heroic a figure. A single-minded Scot does not afford his biographer such easy assistance. King, although born in Ohio, was entirely British in origin. Northern Ireland, Devonshire, and Cornwall were in his background, but the influence of his Scottish father—an able, uncompromising

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[21] (London, 1957), 544*n.*

[22] In a Founder's Day address, entitled "The Break in the Circle," delivered at the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery on March 2, 1953, published in *The Huntington Library Quarterly,* XVI (1953), 223-235, I mentioned Admiral King, Sir Richard Livingstone, and President Conant as examples of men able to express the most varied thoughts without recourse to the jargon that afflicts certain academic disciplines today.

Clydeside sailor turned mechanic—predominated.[23] So far as his home life was concerned, Ernest King might just as well have grown up in Renfrewshire as in Ohio. He went to the Naval Academy in identically the spirit that has sent many an ambitious young Scot to Edinburgh with little beyond a sack of oatmeal and an unswerving determination to excel in his profession. Throughout his life there was scant time for anything save his profession. His friends were mostly fellow officers; his chief diversion the study of military history. While Lord Alanbroke was seeking relaxation from the burden of World War II with a set of Gould's birds, King was reading and rereading *Lee's Lieutenants*. King's ideal was the Earl of St. Vincent, "who"—in his words—"forged the weapon that Nelson wielded—who approved Nelson's initiative at the Battle of St. Vincent—who chose Nelson, a junior, for the operation that culminated in the Battle of the Nile—whose discipline was strict, even harsh, but just and necessary."[24]

Lord Cunningham and Lord Alanbroke—King's British colleagues in the Combined Chiefs of Staff—have, while admitting his abilities, spoken of King with an asperity that he never reciprocated. Lord Cunningham wrote of him: "A man of immense capacity and ability, quite ruthless in his methods, he was not an easy person to get on with. He was tough and liked to be considered tough, and at times became rude and overbearing. . . . On the whole I think Ernest King was the right man in the right place, though one could hardly call him a good coöperator. Not content with fighting the enemy, he was usually fighting someone on his own side as well."[25] Sir Arthur Bryant reflects Lord Alanbroke's view when he refers to "the tough and stubborn King—the old crustacean as one of his countrymen called him—the ablest strategist on the American Chiefs of Staff."[26]

A persistent, but entirely unfounded, legend attributes anti-British sentiments to King. From my repeated conversations with him, nothing seems to me further from the truth. Witness, for example, the concluding sentences of the special Introduction to the English edition of *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*:

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[23] See *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, 10–11.

[24] *Ibid.*, 639.

[25] *A Sailor's Odyssey* (New York, 1951), 466.

[26] *The Turn of the Tide*, 614.

> In the years since 1945 I have often pondered, as I have indicated in the last sentence of this book, upon the need, for the peace of the world, of assuming the permanence of the Anglo-American alliance of 1941–1945. I ask my British readers to keep this thought constantly in mind while examining this record of how the United States and the British Commonwealth accomplished *together* what neither of them could have singly.[27]

and the final page of the Epilogue.[28] When King's admiration for Lord Cunningham's fighting qualities caused him to describe that officer as "a spiritual successor of the Earl of St. Vincent,"[29] he had no higher form of praise.

In *The Turn of the Tide*, Lord Alanbroke seems to find it difficult to believe that King was actually—as I entirely believe him to have been—consistently faithful to the strategic decision requiring the defeat of Germany first, while Lord Cunningham repeatedly makes heavy weather of King's reluctance to employ a British Pacific Fleet in the closing phase of the war against Japan. What is overlooked in both cases is that King, having no political preoccupations, thought purely in military terms of what could be accomplished with the tools available. Although sincerely committed to the defeat of Germany first, he was keenly aware that the Japanese were unlikely to wait passively to be defeated at a time and place of the Allies' choosing. Consequently, while pressing for an acceleration in European operations, he was reluctant to commit forces and ships urgently needed in the Pacific if there were a possibility of their lying unemployed for an extended period in Europe. His views regarding the British Pacific Fleet sprang, not from any jealousy or anti-British sentiment, but from the simple military belief that, as there would be enough American ships to do the job without them, there was no point in straining supply arrangements by the addition of a fleet unaccustomed to operating at great distances from land bases.

Coöperation between allies is never simple. In World War II relations between naval allies were, to a great degree unconsciously, complicated by the reversal of traditional strengths between the Royal Navy and the United States Navy. This was, again quite unconsciously, made no simpler by the fact that the Commander in Chief, United

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[27] (London, 1953), xvi, dated January 24, 1953.

[28] 646 in American edition; 438 in English edition.

[29] *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, 409.

States Fleet, was, without realizing it, a complete Scot. Family disagreements are singularly acrimonious, for charitable allowances made for obvious "heathen" are rarely extended to one's cousins. Some of King's actions must have proved more unpalatable than otherwise to his British colleagues because he was often, all unaware that he was doing so, operating as they might have, had they been in his place.

The popular notion of King's toughness sprang not only from the austerity of his appearance, but from President Roosevelt's delight in Arthur Walsh's gift to King of a scale model of a blowtorch for use as a razor.[30] In consequence of this jest, King was presented with a four-foot brass crowbar inscribed A TOOTHPICK FOR BLOWTORCH and the President circulated the rumor that King cut his toenails with a torpedo net cutter. It was also widely reported that, upon his appointment as COMINCH in December, 1941, Admiral King had observed: "Yes, damn it, when they get in trouble they always send for the sons of bitches." This tale had such currency that Captain (now Vice Admiral, retired) John L. McCrea, meeting the admiral in a Navy Department corridor in January, 1942, ventured to inquire into its authenticity. King replied: "No, John, I didn't say it, but I wish I had."

King's standards were exacting, but his belief in the initiative of the subordinate, and his practice of saying *what* was to be done, and *when*, but never *how*, made him a good man to work for. As I observed in the final chapter of his life:

> He would tolerate almost anything in an officer except incompetence, laziness or verbosity. His major concern was with getting work done promptly and correctly, and as he was singularly indifferent to everything else—including personal publicity, repute or popularity—his Headquarters were happily free from preconceived ideas, affectation or empire building.[31]

Most of the members of his wartime staff were in COMINCH Headquarters solely because they were available at the time, and were, on the basis of their record of past performance, considered competent by the Bureau of Naval Personnel to be ordered there. If any old acquaintance happened to be among the number, he knew fully that he would be judged impartially by his performance; that friendship would permit no allowance for laziness or stupidity.

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[30] *Ibid.*, 306, 413.

[31] *Ibid.*, 649–650.

During our post-war collaboration King and I would talk whenever we were together, almost entirely on professional subjects. Between visits he would send me notes and documents which I would use in drafting chapters. When I went to 1078 Navy Department, I might pass him thirty or forty pages of such a draft. He would take it, without comment, put on his spectacles, swing around in his chair and read at lightning speed. On conclusion he would hand me back the draft with either "That will serve," or a suggestion or two. There was never a word of thanks, but once he had approved a chapter, that was that. I could then go on to the next with complete assurance that there would be no afterthoughts or changes of mind. Knowing his standards, the absence of unfavorable comment with the corresponding feeling that you had done your job correctly, meant more than conventionally polite remarks from other men. Vice Admiral McCrea told me of an incident when he was in command of the destroyer *Trever*, operating with the carrier *Lexington* in the early thirties. During night maneuvers one of *Lexington's* planes crashed in the water. McCrea rescued the pilot and so reported to Captain King in *Lexington*. The night was extremely dark. A strong wind was blowing and there were many white caps. Weather did not bother *Lexington* but it was very troublesome to *Trever*. A second plane crashed; this time McCrea rescued not only the pilot and an additional officer observer but succeeded in salvaging the plane. Feeling rather proud of himself, he was somewhat downcast when he received in return for his second report only a signal from King reading: "Night flying exercises cancelled. Return to port." Then, on reflection, McCrea concluded that, being in command of a guard destroyer, he had simply done his duty, and that, in King's view, one did not offer any thanks or congratulations for that. But, when they met in the Coronado bank the very next day, King called McCrea "John" for the first time, and thenceforth treated him with a subtly different air as the result of that night's work. In their many subsequent conversations during the next quarter of a century, the incident was never referred to by either of them.

Even though King was not accustomed to thank anyone for doing his duty, he was a thoughtful and considerate person in social relations. Whenever he came to stay with us he would unfailingly produce a book, a bottle of whiskey, or jars of country preserves, jams or honey, bought from roadside stands during his drives in Maine or Virginia. When he came to the Boston Athenæum, even when sadly ill, he would remember where members of the staff had their desks, and go to greet them. There is ample evidence of personal consideration in an interchange of messages at Newport in 1941 when King, with four stars, as Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet, coming into port in the cruiser *Augusta* received a signal from Rear Admiral E. C. Kalbfus, President of the Naval War College, reading: "At what time may Rear Admiral Kalbfus call upon Admiral King?" Three years before, King, as Commander Aircraft, Battle Force, with the rank of vice admiral, had served under Kalbfus, who as Commander Battle Force, temporarily wore the four stars of an admiral. The reversal of former rôles was minimized in the reply: "Admiral King will call upon the President of the Naval War College at whatever time it is convenient for the President to receive him."

King loved a joke, and enjoyed teasing with a straight face, but his sense of humor was somewhat forthright and rudimentary. A photograph taken over a cup of coffee in New Orleans in 1944, showing King guffawing heartily, came as a surprise to those who had seen only serious likenesses of him.[32] The story that produced this boisterous reaction concerned the strength of Louisiana coffee. Someone had remarked that you tested it by putting a pewter spoon in the pot. When the spoon melted, the coffee was ready. The counter-suggestion that when a large iron bolt floats, the coffee is ready, had just been made when a photographer snapped his shutter.

Hearing a commotion in his outer office one day during the war, King asked his flag lieutenant what was going on.

> Flag Lieutenant: "Admiral Ingram is there, sir."
> Admiral King: "What's he doing?"
> Flag Lieutenant: "Talking to New York, sir."
> Admiral King: "Tell him to use the telephone."[33]

Arriving in the Navy Department from Boston one March seventeenth, I found King sporting a green tie and green pullover, worn, so he alleged, to make me feel at home.

It used to give King pleasure to maintain, with a perfectly straight face, the fiction that I was a slavedriver who made him work. In our guest book for July 28–29, 1951, he wrote: "Whitehill seems to be a driver." This I was expected to regard as a compliment, for "driver" was a favorite word of King's, frequently used in personal characterizations with an inflection diametrically opposed to that of "fixer."

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[32] *Ibid.*, opposite 592.

[33] King's love of teasing is well shown in the incident of the name of Ingram's flagship—*Big Pebble.* See *Ibid.*, 527–528.

The rumor that Admiral King occasionally dined on raw ensigns undoubtedly sprang from a misunderstanding of his teasing. He enjoyed making disconcerting remarks, partly for the fun involved and partly as a test of the person he was dealing with. In the spring of 1949 I was in 1078 Navy Department—in uniform, having been on two weeks' training duty—to say good-bye to Admiral King. We were discussing his summer visit to Portsmouth, and he politely inquired what part of the summer would be most convenient for us to have him come to North Andover. I suggested July, as I had planned to go cruising with Gus Loring in August. King frowned and snapped: "What, loafing on the job again?" I answered, without change of expression, that I had always understood that in the Navy it was well thought of to take any opportunity of going to sea. An aide looked worried by this frivolous retort, but it was the right answer. A hearty laugh and, "You win," followed.

Vice Admiral Howard E. Orem once told me of a similar conversation that took place early in 1941 between Admiral King and Rear Admiral Robert C. ("Ike") Giffen, who was commanding a cruiser division of the Atlantic Fleet. Giffen came into Newport early one morning in the cruiser *Wichita* at a time when King was putting pressure on all Atlantic Fleet ships to get out to sea and stay there. At 0900 as Giffen was punctiliously making his way up the gangway of King's flagship, *Augusta*, to call on CINCLANT, he was greeted, before he had said a word, with a blast from King: "What the hell are you doing in port?" Giffen, instead of answering, turned to the officer of the deck and said, "Will you call my barge alongside."

> King: "Why the hell do you want your barge alongside?
> Didn't you come to see me?"
> Giffen: "I'm going to sea."
> King: "Come on, Ike, cool down. Come in."

And off they went to an interview that was all the more friendly for Giffen's correct response to the opening gambit. Such a form of pleasantry might easily prove confusing to the uninitiated—particularly young men calling upon daughters at home—and give rise to an undeserved reputation for ferocity.

Only once in ten years did I ever hear King's voice raised in genuine irritation. He had been staying with us over a blistering weekend. We had sat in our barn, with all doors open and electric fans at work. We had driven along country roads hoping to kick up a synthetic breeze. We had eaten ice cream and drunk beer without avail. Finally about 10:30 at night King asked me if it would be too much trouble to drive him back to the Naval Hospital at Portsmouth, where there *might* be a breeze from the sea. I assured him that it would not, but before getting the car, asked if I should telephone ahead to announce his arrival. "Thank you for thinking of it, but it is not necessary." After Newburyport the heat broke, and for some miles we ran through a heavy thunder shower. It was close to midnight and the storm was dying away when we reached the gate of the Naval Base, where the way was barred by a very young marine sentry who seemed entirely ignorant of the identity of my passenger. Twice the admiral gave his name; twice the marine stared blankly. Then for a few seconds King ceased to be a tired and hot invalid. For a moment the Olympian Zeus returned; lightning flashed and thunder roared; the gate opened and the sentry saluted. The most accomplished actor could not have simulated the speech; only a Commander in Chief could have made it.

In 1953 and 1954 I saw King less frequently than in preceding years. His life had been published in November, 1952, and with that accomplished his infirmities appeared to take stronger hold of him. During the preceding five years he had driven himself to complete the record that he wished to leave of his thoughts and decisions. He had persuaded me to undertake a life of Admiral Henry T. Mayo, the Commander in Chief in World War I, on whose staff he had served from December, 1915, to April, 1919, and whom he greatly admired. I had sought out Admiral Mayo's son, Captain Chester G. Mayo, a retired officer of the Supply Corps, living in Huntington, Vermont, who had generously lent me his father's papers. I had hoped that my work on Admiral Mayo's life might prove of continuing interest to Admiral King, but as months passed his hearing and speech deteriorated to a point that made communication extremely difficult. I last saw him in 1078 Navy Department during the winter of 1955–1956. He came to Portsmouth as usual in June, 1956. William G. Wendell had invited the Colonial Society to lunch in Portsmouth on Friday, June twenty-ninth. I had planned to see Admiral King at the Naval Hospital that morning, but instead I attended his funeral in Washington.

On Tuesday noon, the twenty-sixth, King's body was flown in a Navy plane from Portsmouth to Washington, where it was placed in the crypt chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea in Washington Cathedral. I flew to Washington Thursday afternoon, the twenty-eighth, and drove out to the cathedral in the long light of the June evening. As I passed the Japanese Embassy, which had looked so sad and deserted during the war, the courtyard was well raked and a man-servant stood in the open door awaiting guests. Nearly eleven years had passed since King had disposed of the Japanese fleet. It was a cool sunny early evening. The Bishop's Garden was full of fragrant herbs, roses, delphinium and madonna lilies, and the cathedral grounds were quiet and peaceful. In the massive Norman crypt, King's coffin, covered with a flag, was flanked by an impassive honor guard of six Air Force men.

Washington Cathedral began to fill soon after noon on Friday, June twenty-ninth. The coffin was now in the crossing, with an honor guard, and marines in blue jackets and white trousers. Flag officers in whites, with mourning bands, and generals of the other services, filled the south transept, although the ushers, being young, did not always recognize retired admirals in civilian clothes. At one o'clock the funeral began, the Bishop of Washington using the Book of Common Prayer simply and correctly, without rhetorical flourishes.

> Eternal Father, strong to save
> Whose arm hath bound the restless wave

was the only hymn, and by 1:20 the procession was moving out of the cathedral. It went by car to Fifteenth Street and Constitution Avenue, where the main funeral procession formed to march to the Capitol.

My ever-helpful friend, John Heffernan, realizing that I would see more out than in, drove me straight to the Capitol, where he made arrangements to join the "motorcade" to Annapolis. I walked out on the terrace behind the Capitol and looked down the Mall to the Washington Monument. The day was cool but sunny, one of those rare moments in early summer when Washington is still at its springtime best. In the distance one heard drums and the sound of marching;

bands playing funeral marches, "Onward Christian Soldiers" and (with wonderful flourishes of trumpets) "God of our fathers, whose almighty hand." The music came nearer as the procession marched along Constitution Avenue; as it turned into Pennsylvania, and came down toward the Peace Monument, I could see a V-shaped wedge of motorcycle policemen with red headlights, riding very slowly; then the Navy Band, followed by the Battalion of Midshipmen from the Naval Academy in whites with rifles, their officers holding drawn swords with black crape streamers; a company of infantry; the Marine Band, a company of marines, a squadron of airmen, a company of WAVES, WACS, and the like, another band, the national colors, King's five-star flag; then the body on a horse-drawn caisson, followed by cars. As the procession started up Capitol Hill, I went back to John Heffernan's car in the square before the Capitol, and watched it arrive. When the caisson reached the steps of the Capitol, the Navy Band played "Lead, kindly light," as the body was transferred to a motor hearse. The troops dispersed, and some fifty cars formed for the drive to Annapolis.

All along North Capitol Street, New York Avenue, the Baltimore Parkway and Route Fifty to Annapolis traffic was cleared in every direction. As the procession approached Annapolis, carrier planes appeared overhead. When it reached Gate Eight of the Naval Academy at half-past four, the planes flew to and fro in formation during the movement to the Naval Academy Cemetery by College Creek. As the hearse entered the cemetery, the first of a seventeen-gun salute was fired. Midshipmen, Marines, and band were in position by the grave on a lovely tree-shaded hillside where King and his classmates had walked on Sunday afternoons close to sixty years before—the Secretary of the Navy, the Chief of Naval Operations, and honorary pallbearers standing near. As the bearers brought the body from the hearse, the Escort Commander ordered "Present Arms"; the band played four ruffles and flourishes and the hymn "Eternal Father, strong to save" as the body was carried to the grave. The music ceased; the troops came to Parade Rest as the chaplain read the committal, ending with Cardinal Newman's "Lord, support us all the day long" and "May the souls of the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace." Then, as the troops again presented arms, the firing squad fired three volleys, and as the bugler sounded "Taps," the last of the seventeen-gun salute boomed out from across the river. The bodybearers folded the flag, gave it to King's son, and, after a few minutes of quiet conversation, the mourners scattered. Nothing could have been at once simpler and more magnificent, or more appropriate to the man. But to most of the midshipmen at the grave, King—and indeed Nimitz, Halsey, and Hewitt, who were among his pallbearers—must have seemed as distant figures as Dewey, Farragut, or even the sailors of the earliest wars of the Republic. The Class of 1959 is two full generations removed from the Class of 1901, and to a very young man this degree of remoteness borders on that of eternity. So rapidly do great men cease to be people and become instead names, portraits, or statues, curiously familiar, yet personally unknown. The speed of this process has led me to offer this perhaps discursive tribute of affection and respect to a figure of naval history that I had the good fortune, in his last years, to know as a man, rather than as a name.

American Views of the Past

Oscar Handlin[1]

For most men the past is a strange country. Remote and inaccessible, its existence is accepted, but is not thought important. Known through the curious tales of occasional observers, it has meaning only to the extent that it affords to those who regard it as reflected images of their own society.

The first Americans were little occupied with the past. Although they read history, and wrote it, it was the history of their own times; for the term history in the seventeenth century referred more often to contemporaneous events than to those that had receded from the memory of living men. Indeed, in a universe in which Divine Providence interceded directly in the affairs of men, there was little purpose to the quest for antecedents; behind every action was the same ultimate cause.

In the eighteenth century, however, the past, as an unbroken sequence of steps toward the present, emerged with growing clarity in the consciousness of Americans. The general feeling for history of the era was widespread on this side of the Atlantic as in Europe. As the universe fell into a natural order, it was a matter of course to regard the present as the product of a chain of antecedent events, each link of which was worthy, not merely of curious attention, but of serious study and understanding.

In the United States, the Revolution and the romantic nationalism of the nineteenth century magnified the importance of the past in the views of the citizens of the new republic, eager to establish their identity as a nation. If history was, or appeared to be, increasingly serviceable also as a tool of analysis in theology and in social science, that fact simply added practical weight to interests which were already lively.

By the last quarter of the century, concern with comprehension of the past was evident in the widespread popularity of historical writing, in the flourishing societies dedicated to its study, and by its prominent place in education. Most strikingly, Americans displayed that concern in connection with the succession of great centennial celebrations between 1876 and 1904 which offered them the opportunity for retrospect and recollection. The publications, and the orations these festivities touched off, expressed what amounted to an official creed, which evoked universal public assent. These commemorations indicated that Americans had, by then, clearly established a meaning, directly relevant to their own situation, for all that had gone before in their history.

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[1] This paper was read at the April, 1953, meeting. The subject has been treated further in Oscar Handlin, *Chance or Destiny* (Boston, 1955).

Yet the tumult of the expositions, the resounding periods of the orators, could not altogether still the doubts that troubled a few Americans examining the meaning of their past. The hesitations were, at first, not openly expressed; they emerged in these years, as qualifications of, or reservations to, the generally accepted propositions. Not until the very end of the century were the dissenting views published forthrightly. After 1900, they received wider currency, but even then they never displaced the older conception. Yet the wedges of doubt are significant revelations of deep changes in American evaluations of their country and their culture.

Let us outline briefly the underlying assumptions about the past that ran through the popular habits of thought in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—the official creed, as it were. We shall then be able to indicate the nature of some changes in the views of the past in the half century that followed. The contrast may illuminate a significant aspect of American intellectual history.

The past, by 1875, had acquired the attributes of continuity and regularity. It proceeded in a chain of natural causes and effects, not subject to interruption or caprice. Any given moment in time was inextricably linked to all that had gone before; and each day was the product of its antecedents. Bancroft still found God "visible in History"; but his Deity acted through the steady unfolding of a plan rather than through unpredictable interruptions of the natural order.

The plan was progress. Americans confidently believed that history was the record of man's improvement which would continue indefinitely into the future. From this belief there followed necessarily a negative judgment of the past, which was invariably inferior to the present. Adjectives that connoted age had a clearly unfavorable implication. By contrast, terms of recency and youth were in themselves favorable; and what was progressive was self-evidently desirable.

Yet the past was not wholly a record of error and ignorance. It was also the future in process, and contained within it the origins of what was to come. It was possible, looking backward, to observe great achievements, landmarks in the path of human progress. Now and then men and institutions had torn themselves out of their context and had thrust themselves forward toward the present. The men and the institutions of the present had therefore a particular affinity to those of their antecedents which had thus narrowed the gap between past and future. Many Americans, for instance, found it possible to recognize as their ancestors Elizabethan Englishmen, but not those of the fifteenth century, for Protestantism was counted a forward-looking achievement.

Looking backward at such events, Americans could make out another significant aspect of the past. For the past itself justified the changes of the present. Revolutionary change was inherent in the processes of progress; and the heroic incidents of the past, related to those processes, themselves confirmed the validity of further changes. Although, therefore, the past in general was inferior to the present, those features of what had gone before that were related to change were worthy of admiration and emulation.

Americans considered the incidence of such exceptional individuals and events to be particularly high in their own past. Their whole history was exceptional. It was the virtue of the New World to have been ever new, to have stood always in advance of the rest of the globe. American history, as the idealistic historians from Bancroft to Parkman and Rhodes had described it, was inherently progressive. It put in proper perspective the great transformations that Americans of the day hoped to see in their own society. By the same token, the virtue of the founding fathers was in part responsible for the excellence of their descendants.

But the American past was not the exclusive heritage of those descendants. Precisely because of its mission of universal enlightenment, what had happened in the United States was relevant to the future history of all the peoples of the world. In 1900, it still made sense to proclaim, as Paine once had, that the cause of America was the cause of all mankind.

The multitudes who had actually migrated to the New World certainly had a stake in its past. It was true the bulk of American immigrants were peasants, pessimistic in their own view of life and alien to the very idea of progress. It was true, almost all the newcomers lacked any historical consciousness whatsoever. Peasant memories rarely ran back beyond the recollections of living man; and even such people as the Jews, who were aware of a distinctive past, had no sense of chronology or of orderly historical development. The past the immigrants had left was a mélange of recent events, of mythical heroes, and of a by-gone golden age, inextricably confused. With that past they had broken in the very act of coming to the United States. Once here, however, they had an immediate portion in the American past; it was for them, too, that independence was proclaimed, that Washington had stood at Valley Forge. And even the Negroes found the American past meaningful in terms of their hopes for the future, although with more difficulty, since they suffered in a discriminatory present.

The belief that history was the record of man's progress, past to present, the belief that the great events of the past were acts of liberation, and the belief that the United States had a mission of universal import survived beyond the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But while these notions were being proclaimed in Philadelphia and Chicago and St. Louis, subtle changes in attitude were in preparation that would give them a radically new context.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Americans were increasingly sensitive to the obligation of subjecting their views of the past to the verification of science. Earlier writers had of course known the need of conscientious scrutiny of evidence. But they had generally approached the task with the faith that the truth was already known to them. The factual detail was malleable in their hands because its function was primarily that of illustrating the larger truth. It was perfectly logical from this point of view to omit or alter details in the interests of that larger truth.

The scientific historians, particularly those in the universities after 1900, enshrined the rules of evidence in a professional canon. These writers had their leading assumptions too, as we have repeatedly been told. But in their eyes, the fact was absolutely intractable; in any encounter, the general idea or ideal had to yield to the specific detail. Often this entailed substantial revisions of the accepted version of the American past. So the academic historians rewrote the story of the American Revolution and of the Puritan settlement and drew the portraits of the leading characters in terms which were much less flattering than those which had formerly been used.

Such revisions undermined the confidence of some Americans in the exceptional nature of their own development. The newer historians emphasized in the American past the identical forces, often material forces, that seemed to have operated elsewhere. Mostly the scientific historians proceeded on the assumption that history was the product of general laws to which nations and individuals alike were subject; and indeed, in the effort to endow their discipline with scientific attributes, some were tempted to seek general laws of historical development either through analogy with the physical sciences or by deduction from the principle expounded in the sciences of man and of society. The notion that physics or chemistry might supply a precise model for history was attractive, but difficult to work out, although Brooks and Henry Adams persistently speculated on the possibility. Sociology was hardly more stimulating; the science of society supplied some helpful concepts, but in the United States was predominantly practical and unhistorical in orientation.

Anthropology furnished the most interesting clues toward a scientific understanding of the past. The science of man was, as a matter of course, preoccupied with theories of human development. Throughout the early twentieth century, widely read European and American anthropologists had devoted themselves to schemes for classifying the various species of man, for defining the human races. Influenced by the geneticists, they were disposed to believe that heredity was binding in the transmission of social characteristics and that racial qualities, passing from generation to generation, determined the course of human history. A good deal of effort went into the investigation of racial strains and into assessment of their historical import. The influence of anthropological ideas penetrated the writings of many historians, as long debates over the germ theory and over the Teutonic quality of American civilization testified.

I have no wish to exaggerate the influence of the historians as a group. Their writings were effective to the extent that they conformed to the more general direction of scientific influences on American thought and on American views of the past. Among intellectuals, the conflict over evolution had just drawn to a close. Already battered by the older Biblical criticism, by the revelations of geology and astronomy, and by Darwinism, educated men had by now surrendered the literal Biblical account of creation and of human history. They had come to accept the long time span in which the earth had existed without man; they had learned to recognize that man's life on earth was well over six thousand years old and they were no longer surprised at the suggestion of man's affinity to, or descent from, some other primate. Many had, indeed, adjusted their own faith in progress to these evolutionary concepts in the Spencerian or some other fashion.

But, at the end of the nineteenth century, these concepts were only just beginning to penetrate popular consciousness. The enormous esteem in which science was held because of its practical, pragmatically tested achievements, lent credibility to these ideas. Yet, to accept them involved a painful and reluctant surrender of long-held explanations of man's place in the universe. The response was sometimes one of complete credulity; the lost continent of Atlantis, life on Mars and in the bowels of the earth, the New Science, made as much sense to the readers of Sunday supplements and the popular magazines as the paleolithic era or the lost Minoan civilization. Or alternately the response could be one of shock and indignant rejection. Henry Ford declared history was the bunk because it diminished the grandeur of the past he was coming to venerate. In the same way, Bill Thompson and his followers refused categorically to entertain any question as to the heroic men and events of American history. And the Scopes trial was a confused and inchoate protest against the science which seemed to denigrate the dignity of man by making less of his past. Stubborn fundamentalism was a momentary refuge. But all the evidence was on the side of science; and the evolutionary concepts won their way into popular thought, just as the new history conquered the textbooks of the 1920's.

Whatever its particular manifestations, science had a restrictive effect upon American views of the past. By defining the past in terms of general laws, those who applied science to history reduced the rôle of the individual and minimized his part in shaping the past. At the same time, science in the various forms of its application brought into question the idea of progress as a valid description of the historical process. Henry and Brooks Adams, and others, took an explicitly pessimistic position. More generally, the emphasis on objectivity and impersonality encouraged by these attitudes, implicitly denied the possibility of judgments about the values of the present and the future and therefore destroyed the possibility of judgment about the direction of the developments of the past. Perhaps Americans, or some groups among them, acquiesced in the limited view of the past that science permitted them because their own lives no longer enjoyed the inner certainty of complete continuity between past and present. While the accepted creed of progress still dominated men's thoughts everywhere, it is possible, by the turn of the century, to discern incongruous ideas juxtaposed.

The local-color literature of the last decades of the nineteenth century had made popular a style of nostalgic reminiscence about the past. In novels, short stories, and poetry a generation of writers had celebrated the peculiar characteristics of places that had once been good and beautiful, but that were now fading into a gloomy decline. In its point of view, this whole genre was unoptimistic. It extolled the virtues of the past and decried the evils of the present. Therefore, it denied progress.

These writings were particularly the products of New England and of the Old South. It was understandable enough why Yankees should view their past darkly under the reflected shadows of the present. The Civil War had sapped the best energies of the section; its people knew they were declining in importance, even at home; and the whole region steadily lost national influence. The more sensitive New Englanders felt themselves outdistanced by vigorous competitors elsewhere and blamed their own loss of vitality upon changes in the composition of the region; the original sturdy farming stock had given way to a degenerate foreign population, crowded into great cities and divorced by heredity and environment from the original sources of the section's strength.

In the South the men who had passed through the harsh ordeals of the Civil War and of Reconstruction also looked back nostalgically to a by-gone happy era. Idealizing plantation society, they were inclined to ascribe to it all the virtues in which their own lives were deficient. The chivalry, the honor, and the gracious living so conspicuously absent in the present, they painted prominently into their picture of the past; and like the New Englanders, the southerners indulged themselves in reminiscences of a golden age.

In both sections the development of these attitudes had characteristic consequences. There was a strong emphasis on the necessity for maintaining the old virtues through strict family life and through traditional religious observances. There was also strong pride of ancestry; Yankees and southerners were much concerned with the rôle of their forefathers in the making of the nation. In both sections heredity was exceedingly important; marriage, family life, access to voluntary societies, and other social activities revolved about it. In both sections there was a consciousness that historical development had proceeded desirably until some defined date, at which the past had made a sudden reversal, and after which a decline had set in.

Strains of this way of thinking penetrated the literature that the whole nation read in the early twentieth century. So it was often newness that was the villain—the incoming industrialist who disrupted the old way of life of the New England village, or the carpet-bagging merchant in the southern county, or the banker or railroad builder in the western prairies. By contrast, the primitive husbandman, the simple fisherman, the cowboy, the planter was the hero.

These attitudes involved two momentous assumptions. First, progress no longer was a continuous process, but rather one that proceeded to some cut-off point; thereafter the appearance of progress was delusive and concealed a host of hidden evils. Secondly, as a practical matter, an ancestry that antedated the cut-off point was a legitimate test of social desirability, of the extent to which any people really belonged in America.

As these ideas gained currency they affected profoundly the elements of the population that had had no such ancestry. The open quality of the American view of the past had until then given immigrants and Negroes a stake in it. The shift of the terms in which that past was attributed to an exclusive hereditary basis posed the question of whether such people could properly share in it; and that question obliged all those "outsiders" to justify their rôle in American history as in American life. There followed the long fruitless arguments over the nationality and religion of Columbus. Or was it actually Columbus who was the first discoverer and not a Norseman or an Irishman or a Pole? There were zealous searchings of colonial records for hints of the saving presence of some forerunner of each American group. There were bitter disputes as to the identity of the Scotch-Irish and as to the rôle of various folk in the successive American wars. Behind all this searching of the past was the eagerness to find a place in advance of the cut-off point, to establish oneself in the United States before the abrupt change that altered its history. The quest emphasized more than ever the importance of the turning point; and it suggests the utility of further inquiry into the nature of the concept itself.

It will not be fruitful to pass judgment on the particular dates men selected. Henry Adams went back to the thirteenth century for his decisive change. His more perspicacious brother, Charles Francis, writing about Quincy, fixed on 1825, when the railroad appeared. Others of their contemporaries hit on the Civil War. But the year selected is less important than the fact that so many of these people were making a selection. They were doing this because, in these fitful decades, Americans frequently had the opportunity to wonder whether human history was not open to abrupt turnings. The depressions of 1893 and 1907 had each evoked widespread fears that all American history as it had been known till then had come to an end, and that a new era was about to begin. Strikes, such as the Pullman strike, the coal strike, the steel strike, produced similar predictions. Through much of the thinking about the end of the frontier and through much of the argument about conservation ran the same frightening thoughts.

Sometimes, it was true, these speculations placed the cut-off point in the future rather than in the past or present. The widespread popularity of apocalyptic literature in the opening years of the century was symptomatic. Stories about the ruin of old civilizations or about the forthcoming end of the world appeared frequently in the popular magazines and on the shelves of the booksellers. These stories occasionally took a scientific form, or they might be didactic in purpose, as in the novels of Jack London. But their central incident was a cataclysm, a violent terminus to the peaceful historical process.

The seventeenth-century divine would have seen in these cataclysms the operations of Divine Providence; and would have accounted for them by the transgressions and loss of faith of the people. This explanation was closed to the men of 1900, who, whatever their religious beliefs, could not accept the notion of the imminent intervention of Providence in human affairs. Since their universe was one of regularity and order, even the cataclysms had to be products of rule and law.

Against this background, the new cyclical theories of historical development are understandable. Already Brooks Adams's *Law of Civilization and Decay* had analyzed the rise and fall of cultures in terms of a combination of economic and racial factors, in order to arrive at the discouraging conclusion that the disintegration of American power was approaching. During the First World War, the distinguished anthropologist, Madison Grant, in a widely read book, *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), saw in history the elaboration of primal racial forces and lamented that the American branch of the Aryan Race had already passed its zenith. Shortly after the war, Spengler's dismal predictions reached the United States; and the second post-war period found Toynbee a Book-of-the-Month-Club selection. None of these works influenced the writing of history. Nor were they read as history; those who turned to them sought a foretaste of disaster rather than information about, or understanding of, any aspect of the past. The significance of the vogue of these books lay in the expression they gave to fears already current; they clothed the general dread of some apocalyptic calamity in the garb of scientific history.

In this perspective, the First World War and the disasters that followed—depression, war again, and the atom bomb—were items in a familiar series. Each brought home to widening circles the possibility of some imminent turning point at which their future course would take a perilously new direction. And just as earlier the certainty of future progress had been associated in men's minds with the view of a past that was progress, so now, increasingly, the fears of some menacing discontinuity in the future was associated with the view of a past that contained within it some abrupt and decisive turning point.

By the side of the old conception of the past as continuous progress, led by the New World, there had emerged, in the half century after 1875, the new attitude toward history which was considered as the product of rigid rules subject to uncontrollable turnings. The new view did not crowd out the old. Indeed, men often incongruously joined strains of both—in some aspects of New Deal theory, for instance. But the very co-existence was a change. This was a sign that some of the certainty of spirit that had animated Americans through the nineteenth century had disappeared. If there were alternative modes of looking at the past, those were indications of uncertainty in current views of the future.

Congressional Reapportionment Under the Census of 1950

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.[1]

On November 14, 1940, ten years and one month ago, I presented a paper to this Society on "Reapportioning the House of Representatives under the 1940 Census," which appears in our *Proceedings* 66. Hence a brief indication of what is likely to happen because of the 1950 census may be interesting. Under the present law, the matter must be acted on by the new Congress before the end of next January. My chief aim is to enable listeners to understand the kinds of issues which are likely to be debated.

The Constitution directs Congress to reapportion the House after each census. After that of 1920 Congress did nothing, and so the state populations of 1910 determined representation in both the House and the Electoral College through the first New Deal election twenty-two years later. In order to prevent such unfairness from recurring, Congress, beginning in 1929, has set up a plan for automatic reapportionment which is now in force. By the present law, the census bureau sends to Congress a scheme assigning 435 seats in the House (the present number) to the forty-eight states on the basis of their newly counted populations, and in accordance with the mathematical formula used at the last reapportionment. Then, unless Congress changes this scheme within fifteen calendar days, each state at the next presidential election in 1952 and thereafter will get the number of congressmen allotted to it by the Census Bureau.

A mathematical formula is necessary, because the irregularities of state populations make it impossible for a state to receive representation exactly proportioned to the number of its inhabitants. You cannot give a state a fraction of a congressman. Inequalities are unavoidable. The outstanding reapportionment problem since the first census has been—how best to minimize the inequalities between states. Many solutions have been tried, as narrated in my old paper.

Without repeating any mathematical details, I shall merely recall that the method used after the censuses of 1910 and 1930 was based on the arithmetic mean. It was worked out by Professor Walter F. Willcox, a statistician at Cornell, and strongly supported by Senator Vandenberg of Michigan. An opposing method, based on the geometric mean, was devised by Professor Edward B. Huntington of the Harvard Mathematics Department, and indorsed by several scientific bodies as the better. These two competing methods differed little in results. After the 1930 census, they distributed 435 seats in just the same way. When I read my paper in 1940, the Willcox Method was required by law for that census, because it had been used the last time. Although I thought Huntington's method better, I fully expected Congress to leave the prevailing one unchanged.

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[1] This paper was read at the December, 1950, meeting.

After I read my paper, a big surprise took place. As often happens in history, the right side won, and for the wrong reasons. Under the 1940 census, Willcox's method took a seat away from Arkansas and gave it to Michigan; but the better method (Huntington's) would have left Arkansas with its former number of congressmen. As narrated in the printed version of my paper, the smaller states ganged up with Arkansas, which kept its seat, and Huntington's method became the law for the next census, in 1950. Although the speakers who upset Vandenberg's plans profusely complimented him as the great creator of automatic reapportionment, he characterized such praises as "sending flowers to the funeral."

The Census Bureau has now made its scheme for distributing 435 seats by use of the geometric mean, as the present law of 1941 requires. Fourteen seats are taken away from their old possessors, and transferred to rapidly growing states. New York, for the first time in history, loses two congressmen, and Pennsylvania loses three. California astonishingly acquires seven new seats. Massachusetts stays unchanged. So does Kansas.

Is there any chance of a revival of Willcox's method? It would affect just one seat. Kansas would lose one congressman and California would get him. No sane man is going to get up in the capitol and urge giving eight new seats to California, which will gain seven anyway. At a recent conference, Willcox joined in a unanimous resolution, that there is "no practical reason" for departing from the present method.[2]

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[2] The report of the special committee of the American Political Science Association is printed in the *American Political Science Review*, XLV (1951), 153–157.

Therefore, the best mathematical method—Huntington's, called the method of equal proportions—is here for good.

Now that the problem of inequalities as between states has thus been solved, attention is likely to shift to the much greater inequalities which have long existed between districts inside a particular state. For instance, Ohio has one district under 175,000 and another over 900,000, comprising the whole city of Cleveland. Also, Ohio elects one congressman at large; he really represents over two million people.

Next January watch the newspapers for congressional debates on the following issues: Should congressmen at large be forbidden and every state required to divide itself into single-member districts? Will Congress restore to the law the standards last used after the census of 1910, that these districts must be compact and contiguous, and as nearly equal in population as possible? Will Congress go still further and provide that no district shall vary from the average district in that state by more than a specified percentage up or down? Will Congress put teeth in a legal rule for approximate equality by penalizing states whose legislatures establish very large and very small districts? What teeth will be used? And finally, should Congress, after remedying gross inequalities in the sizes of districts, also try to do something about those queer shapes which perpetuate the memory of that eminent citizen of Massachusetts, Elbridge Gerry?[3]

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[3] The Eighty-Second Congress took, in fact, no action on any of these questions. Thus, the 1941 statute, which was silent on these points, was left in operation for the 1951 reapportionment. See *United States Code Annotated* (1955 Cumulative Annual Pocket Part), §§ 2–4. The debates almost ignored reapportionment. A bill to outlaw the gerrymander, H.R. 2799, was introduced by Representative Edwin A. Hall (New York), on February 20, 1951: 97 *Congressional Record,* 1402 and 1413. A constitutional amendment, H. J. Res. 140, to exclude aliens from the population in reapportioning was introduced by Representative Joseph R. Bryson (South Carolina): *Ibid.*, 753–754 and 777. Two newspaper attacks on unequal districts received leave to print: *Ibid.*, Appendix, 1386 and 1962.

Some Aspects of the Society's Manuscript Collection

STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY[1]

FROM the very beginning of the Society's existence there has been a conscious and steady effort to gather in manuscripts. The little group of men who met in August, 1790, to organize the Society knew full well the importance of collecting and preserving the original sources of our history. In the Constitution of the Society particular stress was placed on this need:

> The preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and records, containing historical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial speculations, conduces to mark the genius, delineate the manners, and trace the progress of society in the United States, and must always have a useful tendency to rescue the true history of this country from the ravages of time and the effects of ignorance and neglect.[2]

In order to start the infant Society on its way, our founding fathers selected suitable manuscripts and printed works from their own collections and presented them to the Society. Some lists of gifts have been preserved, and they show the donors to have been men of wise and discriminating judgment. If some of the manuscripts given at that time were offered for sale today, there would be a considerable stir in the collector's world. It seems especially appropriate that the first manuscript gift listed in our *Proceedings* should be that of William Hubbard's *History of New England.*

Not all the Members were in a position to donate their manuscripts and books. Jeremy Belknap delivered to the library a collection, part of which he gave, the other part he wished to have credited towards a life subscription in the Society, which at that time cost thirty-four dollars. The Standing Committee met, and after some deliberation appraised that part of his collection at "thirty-four dollars and one-third of a dollar."[3] The Society did not lose by this transaction for the list notes such manuscripts as these:

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[1] This paper was read at the May, 1952, meeting.

[2] 1 *Proceedings*, I. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 23.

Four folio volumes of Governor Belcher's Letters, public and private. From 1731 to 1735, and from 1739 to 1740.

Correspondence between Governor Shirley and Governor B. Wentworth. From 1742 to 1753.

Ten cases of MSS., containing Letters from Governors and other public persons on public affairs, with many curious MSS. of various kinds. From 1698 to 1761.[4]

When news got abroad of the Society's aims, gifts of manuscripts began to flow in to the library from various parts of New England. In June, 1794, David Trumbull, of Lebanon, Connecticut, offered to the Society the great collection of papers made by Governor Jonathan Trumbull. In his letter, David Trumbull stated that "Had the Massachusetts Historical Society existed during his Life [Jonathan Trumbull's] there is no doubt but He would have chosen to give them to an Institution whose Patriotic Views they would so directly subserve in preference to a Collegiate or other Library, where they probably would soon become 'Food for Worms.' "[5] The faithful Jeremy Belknap journeyed to Lebanon in July and selected those papers which he thought should be preserved. His travel expenses amounted to $17.19 and the Society graciously voted to pay one-half.

Although never permitted to hold membership, with one exception, the ladies have ever been kind and generous to the Society. Polly and Kitty Byles in April, 1793, gave what were described as "Two very curious Manuscripts in parchment."[6] Mrs. John Hancock shortly thereafter permitted the Society to select whatever it thought suitable from the late governor's papers and books. In this present day, one wonders what method of evaluation was used.

The greatest gift to the Society in these early years, and still its most prized possession, was the manuscript journal kept by John Winthrop from 1630 until his death in 1649. This was printed under the title *The History of New England*. When James Savage was re-editing the *History* in 1825, he was permitted to take the second of the three manuscript volumes to his office. On November 10, 1825, a fire destroyed the building, and the second volume was lost. In the *Proceedings* there is printed a particularly touching letter from Savage to President John Davis about his sorrow at this loss.

It would not have been politic for me to mention the Winthrop gift after the Hancock gift, had James Savage been sitting in this room. Throughout his life he was a staunch defender of John Winthrop and a hostile critic of John Hancock. Savage was not one to conceal his feelings. He was known as a good hater and a man addicted to robust language. Charles Francis Adams, our former President, repeated the following story about Savage:

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[4] *Ibid.*, 21–22.

[5] 4 *Collections*, II. 240.

[6] 1 *Proceedings*, I. 50.

> Charles Deane, for instance, was wont to tell, how once, at a late hour in the evening, he was returning from some entertainment in company with Mr. Savage, when the latter suddenly stopped before the old John Hancock house, then still overlooking Beacon Street, and, with minatory gestures expressive of hatred and contempt, proceeded to wake the echoes of night by objurgating the former owner of the mansion through forms of speech quite unconventionally profane.[7]

The line of distinction between public and private papers was not clearly drawn in earlier days, if, indeed, it is today. Public officials after their term of service, often took away with them papers of a distinctly official character and treated them as personal property. With the development of suitable state archives, efforts were made to reclaim such papers which often had found their way into historical societies. This Society found itself involved in two such controversies in the mid-nineteenth century.

In 1820, Alden Bradford, the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, sent to the Society certain papers from the files of Governor Thomas Hutchinson which he felt did not belong in the files of the Secretary's office. These with other Hutchinson Papers were carefully bound in three volumes and placed with the other manuscript collections. Some years later John G. Palfrey, the then Secretary of the Commonwealth, became convinced that the papers were state property and should be reclaimed. On January 1, 1846, he submitted this claim to the Society. After having had the papers for upward of twenty-five years the Society was in no mood to return them and therefore rejected the claim. Repeated claims brought repeated denials. In 1849 the Committee on the Hutchinson Papers went so far as to recommend that the Society "set up the Statute of Limitations against any claim to them from any quarter."[8]

A new turn was given to this controversy in 1867 when the Legislature ordered the Attorney-General to institute proceedings to recover the manuscripts. In 1870 the Society offered to arbitrate the matter, but it was not until February, 1873, that a mutually satisfactory umpire could be found, namely, Robert S. Rantoul. The Society's case was weakened when it was discovered that the word "deposited" was used by Alden Bradford in one of his communications rather than "presented," which was used in his other communications. Mr. Rantoul found for the state, and in December, 1873, the Hutchinson Papers were carefully returned.[9]

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[7] 2 *Proceedings*, XX. 241.

[8] 1 *Proceedings*, II. 441.

In 1845, the State of Connecticut entered a claim for the Jonathan Trumbull Papers, which had been given to the Society in 1794. When this claim was turned down, a second attempt was made in 1846. This fared no better, the Society taking the stand that it was its duty to preserve manuscripts in its own library in conformity with the will of the donors. It left unanswered the claim of Connecticut that many of the papers had been collected by the special direction of the General Assembly. Some time was to elapse before our decision was reversed.

But all was not bickering. In the years prior to the Civil War there was a steady expansion of our manuscript holdings. Collections such as the James Otis, the William Pepperrell, the Israel Williams, the Thomas Hollis, the William Heath, and the Jeremy Belknap Papers came in as gifts. Occasionally a fine collection was passed by. Jared Sparks offered to sell to the Society the papers of Governor Francis Bernard for six hundred dollars, but his offer was not accepted. In addition to securing manuscripts it is worth reporting that efforts were made to catalogue them and bind them suitably.

With the close of the Civil War, the Standing Committee of the Society issued an appeal to its Members urging them to collect materials on the war. In this way, the Society hoped to fulfill its obligations to future historians. One sentence from the appeal seems to me to be of particular significance: "We cannot feel that the members fully recognize the duty laid upon them by membership of the Society, till they fully meet their responsibilities as collectors and treasurers of the historical material that is daily accumulating."[10] When one looks at the great collection of Civil War manuscripts and books now in the Society, it is only fair to say that certain of our past Members fully understood their responsibility.

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[9] 1 *Proceedings*, XIII. 130–131.

[10] 1 *Proceedings*, VIII. 259.

Perhaps the classic example of a good and faithful Member was that given by Josiah Quincy. In 1863, Mr. Quincy presented the Society with the manuscript diary of Ezekiel Price. Some years later a Mr. E. Price Greenleaf informed the Society that the diary really belonged to the Boston Athenæum since he, himself, had given it to that library. Upon investigation it was discovered that Mr. Quincy had borrowed it from the Athenæum and then, in a moment of absent-mindedness, presented it to this Society. It was returned with due explanations.

For almost fifty years after the Civil War the Society continued to operate as a kind of private club with access to its holdings strictly limited to a few. Rich manuscript collections were acquired, but they were for the most part from Members or descendants of Members. Great collections which should now be in our stacks were allowed to slip away. If the proper interest had been shown, it is quite possible that the Daniel Webster Papers would be here today. Many collections were to be had for the asking. In March, 1898, Charles C. Smith, speaking about the manuscript holdings of the Society, was to say: "In only two instances, almost too unimportant in amount to be mentioned, has the Society, so far as I know, bought any manuscripts."[11]

The Society continued its policy of printing rare manuscripts, including those owned by it and those loaned to it for publication. The location of the originals of some of these loans is no longer known, and the texts are available only in our publications. Then again, by printing them in our *Proceedings* many witty and charming letters were recalled to life. I should like to read an extract from a dispatch dated at Madrid, February 6, 1878, and sent to the State Department in Washington by the Honorable James Russell Lowell, at that time United States Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain:

> One of the devices of Fourcarde which came within Mr. Silvela's knowledge when in another Department of the Government, is so ingenious and amusing as to be worth recounting.
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> The Frenchman's object was to smuggle petroleum into Madrid without paying the *octroi*. To this end he established his storehouses in the suburbs, and then hiring all the leanest and least mammalian women that could be found, he

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[11] 2 *Proceedings*, XII. 162.

> made good all their physical defects with tin cases filled with petroleum, thus giving them what Dr. Johnson would have called the pectoral proportions of Juno. Doubtless he blasphemed the unwise parsimony of Nature in denying to women in general the multitudinous breasts displayed by certain Hindu idols. For some time these milky mothers passed without question into the unsuspecting city and supplied thousands of households with that cheap enlightenment which cynics say is worse than none. Meanwhile, M. Fourcarde's pockets swelled in exact proportion to the Quaker breastworks of the improvised wet-nurses. Could he only have been moderate! Could he only have bethought him in time of the *ne quid nimis*. But on a fatal day he sent in a damsel whose contours aroused in one of the guardians at the gates the same emotions as those of Maritornes in the bosom of the carrier. With the playful gallantry of a superior he tapped the object of his admiration and—it tinkled. He had "struck oil" unawares. Love shook his wings and fled; Duty entered frowning; and M. Fourcarde's perambulating wells suddenly went dry.[12]

Although it would be impossible to list in this paper the names of the manuscript collections acquired, brief mention should be made of three major collections that came to the Society at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1885, Francis Parkman began to place in our library his holdings of original papers and transcripts which he had used in his historical works. Thirteen years later Thomas Jefferson Coolidge presented to the Society the second greatest collection of Thomas Jefferson Papers in existence. These papers had been offered for sale to Congress by the Randolph family but had not been purchased. Mr. Coolidge then decided to buy them for the Society. Since that time the Library of Congress has been permitted to microfilm the collection, and copies have been made available to Princeton University, where the great edition of Jefferson's writings is now being published. In 1905 the Winthrop Family Papers were given to the Society by the estate of Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. This placed in our library what might well be called the greatest single collection of American Colonial manuscripts known.

Meanwhile the rumblings of discontent against the Society's closed policy on the use of its manuscripts were being brought to the attention of the Members. The Council Report of 1893 stated:

> While it is our duty to see to the careful preservation of our possessions, while we must surround their use with such precautions as may insure their safety, our policy as to the manuscripts in our hands should be thoroughly generous. This

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[12] 2 *Proceedings*, XI. 208–209.

> only will secure the continued reception by us of valuable manuscripts. The rooms of this Society are not now the only possible place of deposit for family papers and historical material. Testators and donors can find other repositories, and will do so, if we do not let our light shine before men.[13]

This opening gun was not enough. Additional fire power was brought to bear when Worthington C. Ford came to the Society as Editor in 1909, after having been Chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. In the Report of 1910, after stating that the chief function of the Society was to offer a safe storage for historical papers, the Council went on to say:

> It is generally admitted that the relations of the Society, not only to the outside public but to the scholars, are far from what they should be, and demand a radical improvement. To accumulate and bury was never the intention of the founders of this Society. To collect and to hold rigidly for the use of the Society would be a suicidal act. The book or the manuscript which enters the doors of this Society has been lost to investigators, on the double plea that it was private society, and that its collections should be held for the use of its members or its own publications. The Society has lost by cultivating such an impression, and, by what is probably an unconscious narrowness of policy, permitting that impression to become general. . . . Your Council believes in perfect freedom in the use of the Society's accumulations and in giving every facility to those who come to consult them. In this way only can the neglected available qualities be developed and the proper functions of the Society be fulfilled.[14]

Within a few years' time after this declaration many of the old barriers were removed and the Society's collections were gradually opened up to all qualified students. A deliberate policy of attracting manuscripts to the Society was adopted and proved to be successful. During the past forty years there has been a steady flow of acquisitions, both large and small. A goodly share of the credit for this should go to some of our older Members, who have made it their business to see that collections of historical papers were deposited here. I should particularly like to mention Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, who was the agent responsible for our receiving the George Bancroft Papers, the James Ford Rhodes Collection, many of the Quincy Family Papers, and other collections.

The Society has tried to adopt a sane policy in collecting manuscripts. Collections which obviously do not belong here have not been accepted but have been directed to a more logical depository. It is gratifying to report that within the last five years several fine manuscripts have been sent to us as a result of this policy. In 1921, after having been in the Society over 125 years, the Jonathan Trumbull Papers were turned over to the Connecticut State Library. Four years later the Society voted to restore to the Library of Congress six volumes known as the John Hancock Letter-Books which really belonged to the papers of the Continental Congress. In his annual report, the Librarian of Congress was moved to say: "that the Massachusetts Historical Society of its own motion has established for itself a policy of distribution so enlightened that it must win for that institution the additional regard and esteem of historical scholars."

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[13] 2 *Proceedings*, VIII. 184.

[14] *Proceedings*, XLIII. 463–464.

It is not in a spirit of boastfulness that this Society makes the statement that it has the finest collection of historical manuscripts in New England, and one of the finest in the United States. Considering its long history it would be strange indeed if this were not so. To maintain our primacy does constitute a challenge to all the present Members. Many important collections of manuscripts which belong here are still in private hands. May you use your best endeavors to secure them for the Society.

In Ellis Hall there have been placed on exhibition some of the finest manuscripts owned and deposited in the Society. It is hoped that all present will look at them, even if only for the great names attached to most of them. There is one humble document on display, however, that might well go unnoticed. It is a Salem witchcraft document bearing the signatures of thirty-nine relatively obscure people who dared to defend Rebecca Nurse. She, you will remember, was convicted and executed. The document reads:

> We whos nams Are heareunto subscribed being desiered by Goodman Nurse to declare what we knewe concerning his wiues conversation for time past: we cane testyfie to all whom it may concerne that we haue knowne her for many years and Acording to our obseruation her Life and conuersation was Acording to her profestion and we neuer had Any cause or grounds to suspect her of Any such thing as she is nowe Acused of.[15]

I submit that this is one of the truly great documents of Massachusetts history.

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[15] Salem Witchcraft Papers, 30, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Some of the Treasures of the Massachusetts Historical Society

MICHAEL JOSEPH WALSH[1]

A GREAT New England collector of Americana, the late Frank C. Deering, when receiving praise about his collection, sometimes used to describe his books with just two words. He would say he had "the story," meaning that to a large extent he had the story of the beginnings of America. The same can be said of the printed material in our collections, especially in relation to Massachusetts and New England. I refer to printed matter because this talk will be confined to books, pamphlets, and broadsides, and will not include prints and manuscripts. Housed in this building is a truly great collection of printed Americana. The extent of the collection in numbers, rarity, and importance makes any attempt at describing it a difficult one.

What is to be said this afternoon should not be considered a technical or even a general description of the printed material kept here, but rather a chat about some of the rare, important, and significant Americana with which I am familiar, because in most cases the books have passed through my hands. Besides the individual items to be called to your attention, many others of importance are on display today. It will be understood that the exhibition represents but a small part of the rarities from the office of the Director.

The Library is unusually strong in the following subjects: Cambridge and Boston imprints; Colonial treaties with the Indians; Indian wars; Christianizing the Indians, including many books in the Indian language; the founding of Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay Colony; Colonial laws; Massachusetts House and Council records; the writings of the Mathers; and newspaper files, some of which are outstanding.

For example—Henry F. DePuy's *Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians* contains only fifty titles. This Society owns twelve of these—a very high percentage in a subject where nearly all are very rare. Of Cambridge imprints, we have nearly a hundred, a strong showing, surpassed only by the American Antiquarian Society and Harvard. Thomas J. Holmes ranked this Library as the fourth strongest in writings of the Mathers.

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[1] This paper was read at the May, 1953, meeting.

On display is a group of rare and important books on New England witchcraft, including Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences* (Boston, 1689), the first edition of the same author's *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, 1693), and Mather's copy of Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (London, 1700). Inside the front cover of this last, Mather has copied from Job: "My Desire is—that mine Adversary had written a Book. Surely I would take it upon my Shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me." In this group will also be seen a very fine copy of Thomas Maule's *Truth Held Forth and Maintained,* printed at New York by William Bradford in 1695, an excessively rare book.

We have the most nearly complete file of the first regular American newspaper, *The Boston News-Letter,* including the genuine first number for April 24, 1704, one of four known copies. Here, also, is the most nearly complete file of the *New-England Courant,* James Franklin's paper, on which his brother Benjamin set type and to which he contributed articles under the pseudonym "Silence Dogood." On display here today is the number for April 2, 1722, which contains the earliest known prose writing of Franklin. We have also the most nearly complete files of *The New-England Weekly Journal* and *The Boston Post-Boy.*

Here also is an extraordinarily fine file of the first twenty years of the first New Hampshire newspaper, *The New Hampshire Gazette,* published at Portsmouth by Daniel Fowle, who established the first press in New Hampshire, where he had gone after troubles with the Massachusetts authorities. The file begins with the first issue, October 7, 1756, one of two known copies and the earliest existing example of printing in New Hampshire. Fowle mentions in this first number, "Printed Proposals" as having been previously issued, but no copy is now known to exist.

Although it may seem a strange place for it to be, in this Library is a remarkable file of the first Georgia newspaper, *The Georgia Gazette.* The first number, which so far as is known is the earliest printing from the Georgia press was issued at Savannah on April 7, 1763. The file is consecutive from the first number to May 23, 1770, with the exception of a few numbers in 1765–1766 when the paper was suspended because of the Stamp Act. According to Clarence S. Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers,* only eight issues in this entire run are to be found in other libraries of the country. Another colonial newspaper file worthy of mention and given by our Member, Ellery Sedgwick, is a consecutive run of the rare *New York Weekly Post-Boy,* from the first number, January 3, 1743, to and including July 16, 1744.

One of the most precious and historically valuable items in all the collections of this Society is a seven-page booklet by John Winthrop with a caption heading instead of a regular title page, *A Declaration of Former Passages and Proceedings betwixt the English and the Narrowgansets, with their confederates, Wherin the grounds and iustice of the ensuing warre are opened and cleared. Published, by order of the Commissioners for the united Colonies: At Boston the 11 of the sixth month 1645.* The book has no place or date of printing, but it is known to have been printed at Cambridge by Stephen Daye in the middle of 1645. This is the earliest historical item printed in British America and the fourth earliest printed item of which any copy exists. The three previous publications of which copies are extant are the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640), the Stephen Daye book label (1642), and the Harvard theses broadside of 1643. We have one of the two known copies of the latter. It will be seen that this Library owns two of the first four American imprints in existence.

Moreover, the Society's copy of Winthrop's *Declaration* is the most interesting of the four. It belonged to Governor Winthrop and contains in his writing the following: "Relation about Narogansets & Miantinomo and the discovery of their plott against the English." It was given to the Society in 1832 by a corresponding member, William Trumbull Williams, of Lebanon, Connecticut, son of William Williams, signer of the Declaration of Independence from Connecticut. The other copies of Winthrop's *Declaration* are at the Huntington, the New York Public, and the John Carter Brown Libraries.

There are interesting stories about two of the other extant copies. One was found by Henry Stevens in England in the middle 1860's. In his fascinating little book, *Recollections of Mr. James Lenox,* Stevens tells of coming to America in 1868, after having sent ahead, for Lenox's inspection, a little lot of rarities which Stevens thought would interest Lenox. The latter selected a few that Stevens didn't think very important and passed up some that Stevens was sweetest upon. Among the latter was a copy of Winthrop's *Declaration.* To show what Stevens thought of the book, allow me to quote him: "This little book was so rare and historically important that before parting with it, I had it carefully transcribed, lest the hungry sea should swallow it, and it be lost sight of for ever." Stevens had it priced at fifty dollars. After Lenox turned it down Stevens shipped it, with some other items, to John Carter Brown, at Providence. Brown took a large part of the shipment, but like Lenox, passed up the Winthrop *Declaration,* alleging that the price was too high. Stevens then had the box repacked and stored. Some months later, he was in Hartford gossiping with George Brinley about the uncertainty of book collectors' fancies and cited the "Narrowganset" book as an example. Brinley couldn't understand how both Lenox and Brown could turn down such a rare book, and asked if he could have it. Stevens said: Yes. Eleven years later, in the first Brinley sale, the book sold for $215, more than four times the purchase price. This copy is now in the New York Public Library. The John Carter Brown copy passed through Goodspeed's hands in 1927 and cost the Providence library more than three hundred times the price for which Mr. Brown could have secured it in 1868. This copy turned up in the middle of a bound volume of rare pamphlets which formerly belonged to Abiel Holmes. The Huntington Library copy was purchased at the Hoe sale in 1911, for ten thousand dollars. According to Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth, the John Carter Brown Library was a very strong underbidder. The pamphlet was so rare in Governor Thomas Hutchinson's time that he reprinted it in his *Collection of Papers* published in 1769, from a manuscript copy, as he said he "never met with it in print." In referring to this pamphlet Dr. Wroth says it has "a quality of importance so obvious as to require no further discussion."

THE SAYINGS OF POOR RICHARD

Some years ago our late Librarian Allyn B. Forbes occasionally sent to me rare unbound items which were to be sent to London for repairing and binding. Among a group of pamphlets which came one day was one with the title *Father Abraham's Speech,* Boston, printed and sold by Benjamin Mecom, not dated, but printed in 1758. This immediately excited me because I thought it might be the lost first separate edition of Franklin's *Sayings of Poor Richard,* hitherto known only through a contemporary newspaper advertisement. A little investigation proved that indeed it was.

In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1928, Dr. Wilberforce Eames had written an article on the Antigua Press and Benjamin Mecom, 1748–1765.[2] Mecom was Franklin's nephew and was appointed by him to manage the press in Antigua following the death of a previous manager. He printed at Boston from 1757 to 1762, the period during which he issued the first separate edition of the *Sayings of Poor Richard*. In the Poor Richard almanac for 1758, printed in the latter part of 1757 and which was the last of the Poor Richards which Franklin edited, were collected the scattered proverbs and witty sayings contained in the former almanacs. In the 1758 almanac they were put together in the form of a speech at an auction by an old man named Abraham and given the title *Father Abraham's Speech*. The *Sayings* were given other titles in later printings, such as *The Way to Wealth*, *La Science du Bonhomme Richard*, *etc.*

In the article on Mecom, Dr. Eames called attention to an advertisement in the *Boston News-Letter* for March 30, 1758, which says, "This DAY Published, . . . Father Abraham's Speech to a great Number of People, at a *Vendue* of Merchant-Goods; introduced to the Public by *Poor Richard*, a famous Pennsylvania Conjurer, and Almanack-Maker, ..." Dr. Eames noted that the pamphlet was not mentioned in Ford's bibliography of Franklin, or by any other bibliographer.

Here, therefore, is the only known perfect copy of this famous twenty-four-page book. A copy lacking the title page is at the American Antiquarian Society. This first separate edition has been compared with the *Poor Richard Almanac* for 1758 and with the exception of some material on the *verso* of the title page of the former which Franklin evidently put in so that no space would go to waste, and some minor changes, the material in the almanac and *Father Abraham's Speech* runs almost word for word. The Poor Richard for 1758 was considered sufficiently important to be included in the Grolier Club's *One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature* and in the same club's *One Hundred Influential American Books . . . Before 1900*. At the time of publication of these books the compilers did not know of the existence of the first separate edition of the *Sayings*; so the almanac was used instead.

Here, together for the first time in a separate publication, are, among others, the following famous sayings: "Early to Bed, and early to rise, makes a Man healthy wealthy and wise"; "Keep thy Shop, and thy Shop will keep thee"; "A fat Kitchen makes a lean Will"; "Great Estates may venture more, But little Boats should keep near Shore"; "Experience keeps a dear School, but Fools will learn in no other"; "God helps them that help themselves"; "He that lives upon Hope will die fasting"; "One To-day is worth two To-morrows"; "For want of a Nail the Shoe was lost; for want of a Shoe the Horse was lost; and for want of a Horse the Rider was lost." Some of these were not original with Franklin, but he is responsible for their popularity.

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[2] Eames, presumably following Evans (1905), ascribed the American Antiquarian Society's copy to the year 1758, but Allyn B. Forbes discovered it to be of the year 1760.

The following is from a note to the 1758 Poor Richard in the *Church Catalogue*—"Ford gives a list of about 150 separate titles of these reprints. It also appeared in all the newspapers of the American Continent and is still popular. It was translated into all the languages of modern Europe, even into modern Greek by Didot, the famous French printer." It is given the distinction of having been translated and reprinted oftener than any other work from an American pen. Paul Leicester Ford, in his bibliography of Franklin published in 1889, says: "Seventy editions of it have been printed in English, fifty-six in French, eleven in German, and nine in Italian. It has been translated into Spanish, Danish, Swedish, Welsh, Polish, Gaelic, Russian, Bohemian, Dutch, Catalan, Chinese, modern Greek and Phonetic Writing. It has been printed at least four hundred times and is today as popular as ever."

Here are some Poor Richard sayings not in this little book: Never Spare the Parson's Wine Nor the Baker's Pudding; There's More Old Drunkards Than Old Doctors; He that Drinks Fast Pays Slow; Where There's Marriage Without Love There Will be Love Without Marriage; Fish and Visitors Smell in Three Days; A Countryman Between Two Lawyers is like a Fish Between Two Cats; Marry Your Son When You Will But Your Daughter When You Can; Keep Your Eyes Wide Open Before Marriage, Half Shut Afterwards.

THE BOOK OF THE GENERAL LAWS OF NEW PLIMOUTH COLONY
CAMBRIDGE, 1672

One of the rarest American law books is *The Book of the General Laws of the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of New-Plimouth*, printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green in 1672. Some years ago in looking through the items in the safe of Lowdermilk and Company, Washington booksellers, I came across an unbound and imperfect copy of *The General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony* (Cambridge, 1672). Bound at the end was *The General Laws of New-Plimouth Colony,* also imperfect. I had handled *The Massachusetts General Laws* previously, but *The New-Plimouth Laws* was totally unfamiliar and I didn't know how much of it was lacking. It had the title and the next forty pages. I decided at that time to do nothing about the volume but to wait and get more information. Especially, I didn't want to call the attention of Lowdermilk and Company to the fact that there was present part of *The New-Plimouth Colony Laws,* which I knew was very rare. Upon inquiry I was told that the price was $250.

Upon reaching home, I found that the book should have fifty-five pages to be complete. It lacked fifteen pages at the end. It was discovered, also, that there were not more than three or four copies in existence. One of these was at the Massachusetts Historical Society, but it was imperfect, lacking the two leaves following the title. As the Lowdermilk copy would make the Massachusetts Historical Society copy complete, I quickly ordered the book.

The late Matt B. Jones was at that time much interested in the Library here, and because he was an almost daily visitor to my desk, I told him what I had—that in my opinion a complete copy of the book ought to be worth about two thousand dollars, and that if the matter concerned anyone but the Massachusetts Historical Society, the possessor of the other imperfect copy, I should propose purchase or sale. The figure I mentioned was one thousand dollars. I knew beforehand the answer I was going to get. Jones said: "Don't be ridiculous, they can't afford to pay you a thousand dollars for your book, and moreover, they won't sell you theirs." It will be seen that I was more or less at Mr. Jones's mercy and I said, "All right, I'll cut the figure in half." He agreed that that was reasonable; and so the Massachusetts Historical Society took our imperfect copy at five hundred dollars. Mr. Jones and Mr. Forbes then made the M. H. S. copy complete. The Harvard Law Library had a copy of the book lacking the title page and the last leaf. They sold the title page to Harvard and sold what was left of the book to the Library of Congress. From past experience, knowing how expert

Mr. Jones was as a trader, it is my guess that the Massachusetts Historical Society was able to complete this very rare book for little or nothing.

While I am on the subject of laws, I should note that we have also a fine copy of the almost equally rare *New-Plimouth Colony Laws* of 1685. Of the various seventeenth-century Massachusetts Bay compilations we have fine copies, each with supplements, of the editions of 1660, 1672, 1692, and 1699. Also on exhibition is William Strachey's *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lavves Diuine, Morall and Martiall, etc.* (London, 1612). This is a very important book, being the first written code of laws used in British America.

UNIQUE COPIES OF THE TWO EARLIEST CANADIAN IMPRINTS

Last year Marie Tremaine published *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751–1800*. Number one in this bibliography is a ghost title, *Proposals for Publishing the Halifax Gazette*, of which no copy has ever been found. Number two is a legal blank for the use of coroners with spaces left to be filled in by hand. Miss Tremaine says that this was probably printed at Halifax some time during the period 1752–1760. The only known copy is here in our Library. Number three in the Bibliography is the earliest Canadian item with an imprint. It is a broadside with the heading "Price Current," and contains a printed list of ninety-nine commodities with spaces left for the filling in of prices by hand. It contains the imprint at the bottom, "Halifax: Printed by John Bushell. 1752." Miss Tremaine is in error in saying this item is in two leaves. What we have are two copies of the broadside on a single sheet of paper, and moreover, the only known copies. The item—or items, if you want it that way— is here. The Society also owns a good early file of *The Halifax Gazette*.

THE FIRST PRINTING IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

The earliest printing in our far West was a little eight-page primer, in the Nez-Percé Indian language, with the imprint Clearwater, Mission Press, 1839. No perfect copy is known. All known copies, of which one is here, lack at least two pages. A second edition, containing twenty pages, was printed later in 1839, and is also in this Library. Clearwater is near the present town of Lewiston, Idaho. This little book is one of the most important, bibliographically speaking, of American printed items, representing, as it does, the earliest printing in that great region taking in the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Northwest.

Now to tell a story illustrating the fact that bookmen are no wiser than others. Twenty-seven years ago Goodspeed's had a copy of the second edition of this book. At that time the bibliographical information on such items was not available in the quantity that exists today. The book looked scarce, and not being able to find out anything about it, I marked it fifty dollars for cataloguing. Thomas W. Streeter was the lucky purchaser. The day after he bought the book a well-known New York specialist in Western Americana telephoned to order some items from the catalogue, including the Nez-Percé book. When he was informed that the latter was sold, he asked if there was any chance of buying it back from the owner, and said he would gladly give ten times our price for it. I knew there wasn't a chance of getting it back, and I told him so. Here was at least a four hundred and fifty dollar mistake, if not more.

THE FIRST PRINTING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

It ought to be difficult to find anyone to disagree with the statement that the most important single printed document in our national annals was a single sheet of paper with the heading, *In Congress. July 4, 1776. A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled.* The first printing of the great document, of which our Society owns a copy, has the simple imprint, "Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap." It is interesting to note that of nineteen known editions and variants of editions issued between July 4, 1776, and the following January, 1777, when what is called the "official" or "authenticated" edition was issued, more copies of this first printing have survived than of any other contemporary edition. Fourteen copies have been located, a remarkably large number of a single printed sheet of paper, by its nature fragile, and difficult to preserve. The Society also possesses the official edition containing the names of the signers, which was printed by Mary Katharine Goddard at Baltimore early in 1777, and three other contemporary broadside editions.

Ownership of a copy of the first printing of the Declaration of Independence would bring distinction to anyone. But when that owner has not only four other contemporary broadside printings, but also a manuscript copy of the Declaration (with about an eighth missing) in Jefferson's hand, that owner, in this case our Society, has just cause for pride. The copy in Jefferson's hand was presented to the Society in 1893 by Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C. Washburn. In addition, there is a copy of the Declaration in John Adams's handwriting in the Adams Papers, which are housed in this building. John H. Hazelton, an authority on the Declaration, says that this may have been the copy sent by John Adams to his wife.

Also worthy of mention among our holdings of material relating to the Declaration, are the first printing of the Declaration in a newspaper in Massachusetts, in the *American Gazette* of July 16, published in Salem, and a copy of the *Continental Journal* for July 18, one of the two earliest Boston papers to print the Declaration. Here also, is a copy of the first book which contained the Declaration, *The Genuine Principles of the Ancient Saxon, or English Constitution,* by Demophilus (Philadelphia, 1776).

THE HARVARD THESES BROADSIDE OF 1643

If the little Stephen Daye book label of 1642 is to be considered a genuine Cambridge printing, and it was the opinion of the late George Parker Winship that what little is known about it is more in its favor than against it, it stands next to the *Bay Psalm Book* as the second earliest existing example of printing in British America. The next earliest example, the Harvard theses broadside of 1643, one of two known copies and the only one in this country, is in this exhibition. Unfortunately, our copy is not perfect. The other copy, at the University of Glasgow, is supposedly so. The Glasgow institution possesses a remarkable group of seven of these early Harvard theses and quaestiones, all printed at Cambridge between 1643 and 1658. Besides its importance typographically, the 1643 broadside is the earliest existing American printed educational item. Along with the 1643 theses broadside, we also have the lower half of the 1647 Harvard theses broadside, the eighth example from the Cambridge Press of which a copy is known to exist. No copy has been found of the Cambridge printing of the first Harvard theses, that for 1642, although it is reprinted in *New England's First Fruits* (London, 1643).

AN ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES. NORTH-WEST OF THE RIVER OHIO. 1787.

One of the most significant items in this exhibition is a two-page folio broadsheet printed in New York in 1787 with the heading "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, North-West of the River Ohio." It is dated at the end, the 13th day of July, 1787, and has at the end also the signature of Charles Thomson, as secretary of the Congress. This was the law providing for the organization of the old North-West Territory from which came the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi. It is included in the Grolier Club's *One Hundred Influential American Books Printed Before 1900*. Daniel Webster said of it, "I doubt, whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."

Dr. George Watson Cole, in his excellent catalogue of the E. D. Church Collection, has this to say of the *Ordinance*, "In its breadth of conception, its details, and results, it has been, perhaps, the most notable instance of legislation that was ever enacted by the representatives of the American people." In 1950 the Clements Library at the University of Michigan held an exhibition called "One Hundred Michigan Rarities." The *North-West Ordinance* was one of the items, and the catalogue of the exhibition reprinted the famous sentence on education from article three of the *Ordinance* which is carved on the face of the university's Angell Hall, "Religion, Morality, and Knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall for ever be encouraged." The *Ordinance* also stipulated that "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory."

HUBBARD'S NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS BOSTON, 1677

An important book, historically and bibliographically, is William Hubbard's *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England* (Boston, 1677). A second edition was published in London later that same year and this also is in the Library. The map in the Boston edition is the earliest cartographical production of any kind to be engraved in what is now the United States. There are a number of differences between the Boston and London editions of the map—the principal one being that the Boston edition has the words "White Hills" to designate the White Mountains, while the London edition calls them the "Wine Hills." If we except the engraved Massachusetts seals which appeared in the *Massachusetts Laws* and one or two other publications, this "White Hills" map in the Boston edition of the *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians* could be regarded not only as the first American map, but also, as the first illustration in an American book.

This is a good place to mention a few of the many rare books relating to the Indian Wars, such as the first edition of Vincent's *Late Battell fought in New England* (London, 1637); Mason's *History of the Pequot War* (Boston, 1736); Samuel Penhallow's *The History of the Indian Wars of New-England With the Eastern Indians* (Boston, 1726); Thomas Symmes's *Lovewell Lamented* (Boston, 1725); and Increase Mather's *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England* (Boston, 1676).

One of the rarest of all the books on the Indian Wars is Thomas Church's *Entertaining Passages relating to Philip's War* (Boston, 1716). Of all the works relating to the events of King Philip's War, this was, perhaps, the most popular. It was compiled by Church from the notes of his father, Colonel Benjamin Church, an important participant in the war. In the "Address To the Reader," written by Colonel Church, he says: "Having my Minutes by me; my Son has taken the care and pains to Collect from them the Insuing Narrative . . . which I have had the perusal of, and find nothing a-miss."

Probably one of the finest notes, at least from a bookseller's point of view, which was ever written about a book was the following, by Moses Coit Tyler in his *A History of American Literature* (Boston, 1878).

> In the lineage of New England military prowess, a true descendant of Miles Standish and of John Mason was Colonel Benjamin Church; born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1639; founder of Little Compton, where he died in 1718; a matchless guerilla-leader; the most famous Indian-fighter of his day; especially renowned as the conqueror of King Philip, and as the invincible champion of the white men in five other wars against the Indians. In his old age, he put into the hands of his son, Thomas, the memoranda he had kept of his campaigns, and he caused to be written and published, in 1716, "Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War . . . as also of Expeditions more lately made

against the Common Enemy and Indian Rebels in the Eastern Parts of New England;" a book that stirred the very heart of New England, holding "children from play and old men from the chimney-corner," having indeed a spell almost beyond the reach of literary art. It is a soldier's bluff narrative of his own dangerous and enticing adventures; it is full of individual incidents—risks, grapplings, bloodshed, leaps in the dark, all manner of stern things. The reader seems to be a listener, and to be sitting by the side of this scarred and ancient paladin of the New England bush-whackers, and to hear his very talk, as he narrates, frankly, vividly, and always with a strong man's modesty, the deeds that once saved every New England man's door-post from being bespattered with the blood of his own wife and children.

Some of the following items deserve as much space as that given to those previously described:

1. Samuel Blodget's *A Prospective-Plan of the Battle near Lake George on the Eighth Day of September, 1755* (Boston, 1755). The large engraved plan of the battle by Thomas Johnston has been called "the first historical print engraved in America." The Massachusetts Historical Society's copy is one of four known.

2. The second issue of the first printing of the Federal Constitution, which appeared on August 6, 1787, on seven numbered leaves or proof sheets. The only known copy of the first issue which appeared five days earlier is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Massachusetts Historical Society's copy belonged to Elbridge Gerry, and the manuscript corrections and additions by him seem to occupy as much space as the printed matter.

3. The first American medical publication is a unique broadside with the title, *A Brief Rule to guide the Common-People of New-England How to order themselves and theirs in the Small Pocks or Measels. Printed by John Foster in 1677*. The author of the broadside was Thomas Thacher.

4. The earliest complete book printed in Boston and bearing a Boston imprint is Increase Mather's *The Wicked mans Portion* (Boston, Printed by John Foster, 1675).

5. The earliest separate poetical item published in America, except the Psalms, is a small broadside printed at Cambridge early in 1658 with the title, *A Copy of Verses Made by that Reverend Man of God Mr. John Wilson, Pastor to the first Church in Boston; on the sudden Death of Mr. Joseph Brisco*. Our copy is one of two known, the other being at the Huntington Library.

6. The earliest scientific treatise published in what is now the United States is a small twenty-two-page book by the Reverend Samuel Danforth with the title, *An Astronomical Description of the Comet or Blazing Star As it appeared in New England in the 9th, 10th, 11th and in the beginning of the 12th Moneth, 1664,* printed at Cambridge, in 1665. We have the only copy in this country. The only other known copy is in the British Museum.

7. The first edition of the poems of Anne Bradstreet was published at London in 1650 with the title, *The Tenth Muse Lately sprung up in America.* The first American edition, published at Boston in 1678, is even rarer than the original 1650 edition.

8. *A Narrative, of the Excursion and Ravages of the King's Troops Under the Command of General Gage, On the nineteenth of April, 1775* (Worcester, Printed by Isaiah Thomas, 1775). This is the first account in book form of the first armed conflict of the Revolution, and the first book printed in Worcester.

9. The ninth American edition of the *Bay Psalm Book* (Boston, 1698), the only almost perfect copy of the earliest American book to contain music.

10. A copy in the original binding of the most extensive single piece of American colonial printing, the Eliot Indian Bible of 1663.

11. An unrecorded broadside printed at Boston in 1728, *By the Honourable William Dummer Esq; Lieutenant Governour . . . A Proclamation For Apprehending Henry Phillips.* Phillips was accused of having killed a man in a duel on Boston Common.

12. A broadside printed at Cambridge in 1665 without an imprint, which Winship says, "is from many points of view the most significant piece of printing that appeared in English America." The heading on the broadside is as follows: *The Conditions for New-Planters In the Territories of His Royal Highness The Duke of York.* The broadside is addressed to any English settlers who may then have been west of the Hudson or any who proposed to go there and purchase land. It is the earliest printed item relating to English authority in the colony of New York, which was taken over from the Dutch in 1664. No other copy is known.

13. *The Modern Riding-Master,* by Philip Astley (Philadelphia, 1776). The earliest illustrated American sporting book.

As was said at the beginning of this paper, the books, pamphlets, and broadsides mentioned here comprise but a small part of the rarities in the Library. The list of significant and important items could be easily multiplied. A great collection of Americana, with emphasis on New England, is housed and being cared for within these walls.

Memoirs

Julius Herbert Tuttle

STEWART MITCHELL

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE was born in Littleton, Massachusetts, on March 7, 1857, the son of Edmund Sherman and Eliza Ann (Conant) Tuttle, a direct descendant of John and Joanna Tuttle who came from England in the *Planter* and settled in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1635. Tuttle's father died on February 23, 1860, when he was not yet three years old. On May 29, 1860, his mother died, and thus Tuttle was left an orphan.

He was graduated from Lawrence Academy and the Bridgewater Normal School. He tried to teach for one year, but he was utterly incapable of enforcing discipline on the children in his classes, who certainly could not be so offensive as the teen-agers who infest the world today; so he went to work at the Old Corner Book Store in Boston. It was there that the imperious Samuel Abbott Green first saw him, and, noticing how carefully he wrapped up a book, decided to take him into the Massachusetts Historical Society as his assistant. He served Dr. Green for forty years, becoming Acting Librarian in 1912, when Green suffered a stroke, and Librarian in his own right, at long last, in 1919, when he was in his sixty-third year, an age at which most men begin to think of retiring. Then was he glad, because he was at rest: for time had brought him unto the haven where he would be.

Then it was that Senator Lodge, President of the Society, wrote as follows:

> *Personal*
>
> *December 14, 1918*
>
> MY DEAR MR. FORD:
>
> When I wrote you the other day about Dr. Green it slipped my mind to say anything about his successor. I suppose, however, there can only be one person considered and it is probably needless for me to say anything about it. In fact I have assumed that Mr. Tuttle would be chosen to the place. Mr. Tuttle I have known a great many years and like very much. He is modest and hard working, and it seems to me after all these years of service that this place which would be the culminating point of his ambition is well deserved. I suppose the matter will come up in the Council and I therefore venture to let you know my opinion about it.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> H. C. LODGE
>
> *Worthington C. Ford, Esq.,*
> *Massachusetts Historical Society,*
> *Boston, Massachusetts.*

Mr. Tuttle lived all his life in Dedham, where he was active in compiling the town records, serving as President of the Dedham Historical Society from 1907 to 1940. In 1918 he was made an honorary member of Phi Beta Kappa by Harvard.

Tuttle was utterly faithful in waiting on Members of the Society and on visiting scholars and students. Yet he took everybody at face value; so everybody took him for granted. He had little or none of the uncanny power of seeing through people like plate glass. Samuel Johnson, in writing of the Earl of Cork, observed: "He was so generally civil, that nobody thanked him for it." If Green was a glacier, a cynic once declared, Tuttle was a terminal moraine. Yet fifty-six years of even excessively faithful service to the Society is not to be sneered at. When he was retired on a generous pension in 1934, at the age of seventy-seven he was a lonely, if not a lost, man. He had committed the all too common error of making his work his life, and when he was relieved of his work there was little or no life left. He was a total abstainer and kept his small change in a little leather purse.

On November 17, 1881, Tuttle married Jennie Crehore Carroll, one of the twin daughters of Sanford and Clarissa (Alden) Carroll. They had no children, and his wife predeceased him. Tuttle, himself, died in Dedham on February 10, 1945, within one month of his eighty-eighth birthday.

Allyn Bailey Forbes

STEWART MITCHELL[1]

ALLYN BAILEY FORBES was born at Taunton, November 2, 1897, the son of Harrie Wilson Forbes and Bertha Frances (Wilbur) Forbes. He prepared for college at the Taunton High School and St. George's School in Newport, Rhode Island, and was graduated from Amherst College in 1919, a member of Phi Beta Kappa. From 1920 to 1925, he was an instructor in history in Deerfield Academy. An official of the academy wrote of him in 1957 as follows:

> Allyn was a man of high ideals and standards along all scholastic lines. He was a thoroughly painstaking teacher, keenly interested in his pupils. His interest in history made Deerfield an ideal place for him to live, and he fully appreciated the historical background. For his work with the Massachusetts Historical Society he seemed ideally prepared and trained. The only problem which he presented was that of understanding and approaching people, from the standpoint of public relations. To many he seemed very reserved and withdrawn, but those who came to know him found a really genial, friendly personality.

In 1925, he moved to Cambridge and became a student there in the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences until 1929. It was there that I first met him. For some strange reason he seemed to take a fancy to me, and his affection became almost fraternal. It was I who talked him into becoming the assistant to Mr. Tuttle, and time after time when difficulties occurred during the seven years of his Directorship, he called on me for diplomatic assistance, almost as if I were his grey eminence. He always got it.

He was an instructor in history and tutor at Harvard from 1928 to 1931, having received his M.A. in 1927. In 1931, he was made Editor of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and in 1933, he was elected to the editorial board of the *New England Quarterly*, for which he carefully prepared "A Bibliography of New England" for fourteen years. In 1934, he was chosen Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society in succession to Julius Herbert Tuttle, and in 1940, he was appointed to the new office of Director. He was always prompt to arrive and just as prompt to leave: unlike Rabelais, he liked to live by clocks and bells. He thoroughly disapproved of natural indolence.

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[1] For tribute see *Proceedings*, LXIX. 437–438.

Forbes was amazingly industrious. Every waking hour was appropriated for some designated duty. Whitman's lovable line, "I loafe, and invite my soul," would have had no charm or meaning for him. His favorite task was cataloguing manuscripts, an occupation most amusing to one who would not look once at letters from William Shakespeare to his so-called collaborators, Francis Bacon and the Earl of Oxford. He was demanding, and his capacity for intellectual indignation was colossal. He could not suffer fools gladly; so his abrupt manner often offended certain persons with whom he came in contact, both socially and professionally. He was quietly generous with his money, but he practised some of the peculiar economies of prosperous people. He spent dollars, but sometimes he pinched pennies.

Silly after-dinner speeches were his pet aversion. I remember being seated at his side one evening at a "high-class" dinner when a distinguished scholar made a fool of himself for the better part of one hour, in the course of which Forbes's resentment became noticeable, if not noisy. Whenever he became bored at the Club of Odd Volumes, he quietly fell asleep. He liked to ride horseback and play bridge and his piano, and was a faithful member of the audience of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, to which he left a neat sum of money. In preparing manuscripts of Members of the Society for the press, he was always ruthless, and he was always right. Because he could not merely smile at frauds, snobs, and toadies, and leave well enough alone, he was always tumbling off the tightrope of tact.

Forbes died suddenly of a heart attack at his home in Cambridge on January 21, 1947. He was survived by his wife, Lois (Whitney) [Perry] Forbes, whom he married on June 15, 1938, a brother, a stepmother, and three stepchildren. His will provides that a handsome legacy shall come to the Society eventually.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Herman F. Clarke

Hermann Frederick Clarke

HENRY WILDER FOOTE

HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE was born at Newton, Massachusetts, on March 29, 1882, the son of Arthur French Clarke. He married Dorothy Locke Johnson, by whom he had a son and three daughters. He died in Boston on October 29, 1947.

He was educated at the Boston Latin School and at Harvard, where he took his A.B. in 1905. After four years in the life-insurance business he entered the firm of Estabrook and Company, investment bankers, with whom he remained for the rest of his life, becoming a member of the firm in 1922. His work gave him a wide acquaintance with a great many industrial enterprises, and he served as director on the boards of a number of business companies. His knowledge and his concern for human welfare also led him to serve as a trustee of the public library in Brookline—his place of residence after marriage—and of the Children's Hospital in Boston and, for many years, as president of the board of the Home for Aged Couples, out of existence now.

His historical interests were stimulated by a growing admiration for the early craftsmanship of New England, first in furniture and then in the work of our earliest silversmiths. This was a field which had been almost completely overlooked previous to 1900, when an English authority on the goldsmith's art as practised in England, E. Alfred Jones, of London, visited this country. Jones knew where to search. His book, *The Old Silver of American Churches* (1913), disclosed our possession of artistic treasures of the existence of which we had been hardly aware.

Following this clue, Mr. Clarke made a careful and exhaustive study of the life and work of the three silversmiths most important in the seventeenth-century life of the Bay Colony. In 1932 he brought out his *John Coney, Silversmith, 1655–1722*; in 1935 he published *Jeremiah Dummer, Colonial Craftsman and Merchant, 1645–1718*; and in 1940 his *John Hull, a Builder of the Bay Colony.* These books are well-written and authoritative studies of these practitioners of a craft much sought after and admired in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Boston, and are beautifully illustrated with pictures of their work.

In his *Jeremiah Dummer* he had Henry Wilder Foote as collaborator on the then moot question of whether Dummer was also a portrait painter. The question arose because there are in existence twenty or more colonial portraits of his period representing persons connected with Dummer by family or business ties, obviously painted by the same hand, but with no decisive evidence as to the painter's name. That they were Dummer's work is now discredited, because four of them, supposed to represent Dummer and his wife, and his brother-in-law John Coney and his wife, were later shown to have come from an untrustworthy source. The other portraits in this series, however, represent identifiable individuals and have come down in the families of their descendants, and the question of the artist to whom they can with assurance be attributed is still an open one.

Mr. Clarke's researches led to his election to the Massachusetts Historical Society on December 10, 1936, and to the American Antiquarian Society in 1935. He was also a member of the Club of Odd Volumes, and of a number of other social organizations. His was a pleasing personality, animated by high principles and with a scholarly mind; and he was respected and beloved.

OF

Charles Knowles Bolton

Charles Knowles Bolton

Clifford Kenyon Shipton

It would be impossible for me to write of Charles Knowles Bolton with detachment. For fourteen years he was my close neighbor in a small town, and for more than that period we shared our professional interests and the enjoyment of his puckish comments on our world. It was a relationship not frequently found elsewhere than in the attachment of son and father.

C. K. Bolton, as he always called himself, was born in East Cleveland, Ohio, on November 14, 1867, a son of Charles Edward and Sarah Elizabeth (Knowles) Bolton. Both his parents were distinguished, but his mother, a famous figure in the world of literature and reform, had the greater influence on his intellectual development. He was educated in the Central High School of Cleveland and at Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1890. That summer he made the first of his several visits to England, a land which he came to know well from his leisurely wanderings about it, and into whose culture he fitted with an ease surprising in one who had so many American generations behind him. During his first visit he prepared a bibliography of "Standard American Literature" for *Arnold's Literary List*. He came back to America undecided as to whether to try his hand at journalism, literary work, or publishing. On his first job he participated in the beginnings of *McClure's Magazine*, but in November an interview with Justin Winsor, and an offer of a salary of $600 a year, took him to the Harvard College Library.

At Harvard, C. K. showed that his interests lay in history and writing, rather than in the mechanics or the collecting side of library work. He finished a biography of *Saskia, the Wife of Rembrandt*, which he had begun in England, and found a commercial publisher for it. Prospects of promotion at Harvard being remote in 1894, he went to the Brookline Public Library, where, although he was not particularly interested in the kind of service which it afforded, he could prove his ability as an executive. During his four years there he showed an amazing capacity for holding offices in professional organizations, and demonstrated the remarkable diversity of his interests. These ranged from the study of posters as a phase of advertising to the writing of good poetry. His verse epic, *On the Wooing of Martha Pitkin* (1894), went through several printings.

When A. Lawrence Lowell called William Coolidge Lane from the Boston Athenæum to Harvard, he made amends, in 1898, by bringing Bolton from Brookline to replace him. This was the perfect fitting of the man to the institution. At Brookline, C. K. had sorted dirty pamphlets, in his shirtsleeves, and, for lack of a suitable office, had been obliged to take important visitors to the basement for private conversations. He fitted much better into the charming surroundings of the Athenæum with its quiet, its leisure, its discriminating patrons and their diversified interests. Freed from the grind of administrative detail, he poured out articles and books, the most famous of which were *The Private Soldier under Washington* (1902), *Scotch-Irish Pioneers* (1910), *Portraits of the Founders* (three volumes, 1918–1926), *Bolton's American Armory* (1927), and *The Real Founders of New England* (1929). These were the fruits which ripened and were particularly good; in an amazing number of other fields, such as the study of bookplates and a census of Boston colonial newspapers, he did tentative work.

Bolton's books were pioneer works, and most of them have been superseded by more thorough investigations of their fields in smaller segments. C. K. lost interest in an area after he had explored it, and, like an intellectual frontiersman, eagerly passed on to new fields, leaving the intensive cultivation to more plodding men. That is why few of the younger scholars appreciate his contributions.

C. K. was no joiner, but he took great pleasure in attending the meetings of professional societies, such as the American Antiquarian Society and the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and in doing the hard administrative work of such institutions. He liked to run things. He was a vice-president of the Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; for twenty-five years president of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities; fourteen years senior warden of Christ Church, Boston; sixteen years a trustee of the Museum of Fine Arts; four years treasurer of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; eleven years professor of library history at Simmons; chairman of the Shirley town Republican Committee; treasurer of Trinity Chapel, Shirley; supervisor of the W. P. A. Survey of Early

American Portraits in New England and New York; and sometime delegate to the Republican State Convention.

As early as 1915, C. K. gave Pound Hill Place, Shirley, as his permanent address. He served on the school committee and the board of library trustees of that town long before his retirement from the Athenæum in 1933 and his subsequent removal, for year-round residence, to the country. With his wife, Ethel, daughter of the historian Edward Stanwood and an historian in her own right, he made Pound Hill Place a literary focus. Sunday afternoon tea usually found out-of-town visitors there, drawn by the friendships which the Boltons had made in the myriad fields of their interests.

C. K. was elected to this Society in February, 1903, and immediately placed on the Library Committee, where he served with his father-in-law. He was also a member of the committee to publish the Heath Papers. In 1928 he represented the Society at the unveiling at Blackwall, London, of the memorial to the Virginia settlers of 1607, and in 1929 he was elected to the Council of the Society. He attended meetings faithfully until his hearing failed, and continued to watch with pleasure the progress of his name to the head of the list of members. He died at Ayer, after a short illness, on May 19, 1950, survived by Mrs. Bolton and by two sons, Stanwood Knowles and Geoffrey.

For years C. K. kept a very full diary in which he recorded the kind of amusing trivia which are always omitted from formal records, although more than anything else they give life to the picture of the past. This Society should some day print the sections which relate to its own meetings.

Samuel Atkins Eliot

HENRY WILDER FOOTE

SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on August 24, 1862, and died in Boston on October 15, 1950. He was the younger son of Charles William and Ellen Derby (Peabody) Eliot, and was named for his paternal grandfather. In Harvard College, from which he was graduated *cum laude* with the Class of 1884, his tall, distinguished figure, fine voice, and friendly personality made him a leader in the social and the musical activities of the undergraduates.

After being graduated he declined a financially tempting offer to enter the railroad business, in order to prepare himself for the Unitarian ministry. Desiring the master's degree, he registered in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, in which courses offered by the faculty of the Divinity School were open to him. His study for the ministry was an interrupted one, the most important break being caused by ill health in the winter of 1886–1887, which sent him south. There he met and lived for some time with General Armstrong, then principal of Hampton Institute, in Virginia. Thus, in early manhood, he became acquainted with the problems confronting American Negroes and Indians, in whose welfare he maintained a deep interest throughout his life. He did not complete the requirements for the degree of A.M. until 1889, when he had for a brief period already served as minister to a small congregation in Seattle, Washington, then still a raw town on the frontier.

On October 22, 1889, he married Frances Stone Hopkinson, of Cambridge, and that same autumn was settled as minister of the Unitarian Church in Denver, Colorado, where he became conspicuous by his courageous defense of the rights of the Indians, who were frequently the victims of exploitation and hostility. In 1893 he was called to the First Unitarian Congregational Church, the Church of the Saviour, in Brooklyn, New York. Some of the leading laymen in this church were pioneers in the application of the "social gospel" to community problems, especially those of low-cost housing and child welfare. Their program of reforms reinforced his own conviction that Christianity should be as much concerned with social evils and injustices as

Samuel A. Eliot.

with the problems of individual souls. Eliot remained in Brooklyn for five years, attaining an outstanding reputation among the clergy of the area of greater New York.

On January 1, 1898, he became secretary of the American Unitarian Association, which was organized in Boston in 1825 by a group of individuals interested in liberal religion. Its president, frequently a prominent layman, held a position which was largely honorary. The secretary, generally a minister, was the executive officer appointed to carry out the very modest program which its limited resources permitted. Eliot, although only thirty-five years old, brought to his new position both a broader vision of its possibilities and a greater driving power than that of any of his predecessors. His first task was to increase the association's invested capital and to plan the most efficient use of its income. His executive ability and financial sagacity soon became so obvious that two years later, in 1900, he was elected president of the association, an office which he held until 1927. During his administration the endowment was increased fifteen fold, due to his successful solicitation of gifts and to confidence in his ability to carry out his plans. The association was transformed from a group of individuals into a federation of free churches, each independent and self-governing, but united in promoting interests which they held in common beyond their local affairs. Its staff was greatly increased as its growing activities were assigned to separate departments set up to take care of them.

Eliot's interests were not limited to these denominational affairs. He was a distinguished preacher, wise and forceful in utterance, and a welcome visitor to many college pulpits. He eagerly sought interdenominational coöperation, and served a term as president of the Massachusetts Federation of Churches. In 1909 he was appointed a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, a non-political group of outstanding citizens whose function it was to visit and report upon Indian reservations all across the country. He served as chairman of the commission from 1927 until its abolition in 1933. In 1922 he and his friend Thomas Mott Osborne founded the National Society for Penal Information, to promote much-needed prison reform. He participated in the activities of numerous other organizations for the relief of human suffering and the advancement of social welfare. Few Americans of his generation had a wider range of such interests, or displayed greater energy in promoting them. It was fitting that in 1925, the onehundredth anniversary of the American Unitarian Association, Harvard should give him the honorary degree of S.T.D.

On his withdrawal from the presidency of the association in 1927 he became minister of the Arlington Street Church in Boston, which he served until 1935, when he became minister emeritus at the age of seventy-three. But in his retirement he maintained his active connection with many good causes, and was in constant demand as a preacher until incapacitated by illness during the last few months of his life.

He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1933, and read three papers at later meetings. That entitled "Being a Mayor of Boston One Hundred Years Ago" is an account of the experiences of the grandfather whose name he bore. The books which he wrote, edited, or to which he contributed introductions or chapters are numerous. Among them are *Mount Desert, A History* (1905), largely written by him, and *Heralds of a Liberal Faith*, containing brief, authoritative biographical sketches of a large number of the more prominent Unitarian ministers who lived and worked between 1800 and 1950. The first three volumes of this work were published in 1910; the fourth volume, for which at his death he left the nearly completed manuscript, was published in 1951. In addition to these works, he wrote and printed a great number of biographical and historical sketches, addresses, and sermons, published in pamphlet form or in the proceedings of various societies.

Dr. Eliot was a lover of the mountains and the sea, and from early boyhood was well acquainted with the coast of Maine. Throughout his adult life he made Northeast Harbor, on Mount Desert Island, his summer home, and there he took an active part in church and community affairs. His wife survived him, as well as four sons and three daughters, twenty grandchildren, and nine great-grandchildren.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

George G. Wolkins

George Gregerson Wolkins

STEWART MITCHELL

GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS was born on May 2, 1878, in the Clarendon Hills section of what is now Hyde Park, Boston. He was the son of Friedrich Ludwig Heinrich Volkens, who was born in Bremerhaven, Germany, in 1835, and settled in Boston in 1858, when he assumed the Anglicized name of his uncle and married his first cousin. George Wolkins was named for the uncle of his mother, who appeared in Salem about 1800 as the adopted son of a shipmaster named Gregerson.

He was brought up in the Episcopal Church, to which he gave his first loyalty, but after his marriage in 1917, he joined the Society of Friends, to which his wife, Lyra Trueblood, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, belonged. Thereafter he served as an official of the Board of Missions of those remarkable Protestant schismatics.

Upon graduation from the Boston English High School in 1896, Wolkins went to work with Haddock, Shonk, and Company, of Boston. He started out there as an office boy, but before long he was a salesman for the firm. His most extended service in the wholesale coal business was with Hanson and Parker, 50 Congress Street, Boston, where he worked as a salesman from 1903 to 1918, and as manager from 1918 to 1943, a term of forty years—when the business was dissolved. During the First World War he was placed in charge of the distribution of soft coal for New England, under the United States Fuel Administration, headed by the late Harry Augustus Garfield (1863–1942), then president of Williams College.

Although his formal education ended with his graduation from high school in 1896, Wolkins devoted all his leisure to the reading and study of history, particularly that of New England. As a very young man he gave illustrated lectures at the Old South Historical Society and contributed many essays to its publications. He became a member of the Essex Institute in 1903, and was elected to the American Antiquarian Society in 1934, to the Club of Odd Volumes in 1935, and was made an Associate Member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in 1937.

Wolkins was so sensitive that he often found offense when none was intended, and this misfortune made him unduly suspicious of many people who could not understand his feelings. Time after time he told me how bitterly he regretted that he had never gone to Harvard—particularly, perhaps, because he was destined to be associated with graduates of Harvard all his life. A cynic has observed that possibly the only advantage of going to Harvard is not to resent not having gone.

In February, 1921, he was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, chiefly as the result of the scholarly interest of one of his best friends, Edward Stanwood, then our Recording Secretary. So active was his coöperation that seven years later he was saddled with the exacting office of Treasurer. In this he served faithfully but meticulously for fifteen years, after which time he remained in the Council as Second, and then First Vice-President during four years. Although he retired from active participation in the management of the Society in 1947, Wolkins came to every stated meeting, and read, at the very last one he was destined to attend, a short paper on Lord Bryce's acid comments on Theodore Roosevelt's limited knowledge of international law. He died on March 2, 1951, having taken care to remember the Society in his will.

[illegible]

Henry Adams

Henry Adams, 2nd

Samuel Flagg Bemis

HENRY ADAMS, 2ND, great-grandson of President John Quincy Adams and great-great-grandson of John Adams, second President of the United States, was born on July 17, 1875, at Stonyfield Hill, then called Presidents' Hill, in Quincy, Massachusetts. He and his elder twin brother, John Adams, were sons of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., President of this Society from April, 1895, to March, 1915, and Mary Hone (Ogden) Adams. He was named after his uncle Henry Adams, the historian, and author of the *Education*, one of the four eminent sons of Charles Francis Adams, minister to the Court of St. James's during the Civil War.

Young Adams first attended Miss Wright's school in Quincy, and later (after his family began going in to Boston for the winters) Miss Matthews's school at Number Five Charles Street. He and his brother next spent six years at Groton (1888–1894) and were graduated from Harvard in the Class of 1898. Henry, impaired in hearing, took to the water for sports, rowing and sailing, and was captain of his class crew in his junior year. In 1896 and 1898, he and his brother went on bicycle trips in western Europe under the guidance of their austere father.

The activities of the elder Adams in the Union Pacific Railroad had led him into extensive landholdings in the Northwest. Thus it was that after graduation the boys went to Lewiston, Idaho, to grow up prosperously with the country. It was too soon for the bonanza that later came in wheat and fruit lands, but Henry remained in Idaho after his brother left, working with Libby's Land Company, an irrigation project controlled by his absentee father, on the west side of Snake River. In 1915 he returned to Massachusetts, where he spent the remainder of his life (except for an extended interruption by the First World War) in Lincoln, Concord, and Boston. He died unmarried, very suddenly, on April 26, 1951.

Henry Adams enrolled in the voluntary Officers' Training Camp at Plattsburg in 1915, but his poor hearing prevented him from getting what he wanted—a military commission in the line of fighting. He thereupon joined the Quartermaster's Department of the American

Red Cross and saw service in this capacity in France, near the Twenty-Sixth Division. After the war Adams served in relief work in South Russia (Kuban) until March, 1920, when the Bolshevik armies drove out General Denikin, and later, in the Crimea until the revolutionary forces triumphed there over General Wrangel's counter-revolution. The sojourn in Russia in those virulent days was the greatest experience of his life. He returned to Boston on October 25, 1921, by way of a trip around the globe: France, Belgium, Suez, India, Japan, Hawaii, the South Sea Islands, and Panama. His life in Boston after 1921 was associated with the business office established by his father, at 84, and later at 15 State Street, where his brother John wrestled with financial problems left to the family estate by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., who died in 1915.

During his active years Henry Adams continued his interests in outdoor sports, notably sailing on Massachusetts Bay and around Cape Cod. A loyal Harvard alumnus, he took a continuing interest in undergraduate life, studies, and sports, and delighted in associating with student activities to the extent that his age and hearing permitted.

The passion of his later life was reading the papers of his distinguished ancestors, for whom he had a reverent and even affectionate devotion. As one of the trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust—with his cousin Charles Francis Adams, 3rd—he became the family monitor of those archives, as well as a devoted worker for the inquiries and even the whims of scholars who sought answers from the papers then impounded from general scrutiny. There was no end to the labor he would put in in looking up data and copying documents for scholars whom he trusted; there was no limit to his contempt for the journalistic type of writer who sought to exploit the papers in his trust by some quick and meretricious publication.[1] During the Second World War, immured with the manuscripts of his ancestors in the Adams Room of the Society's building, he would sometimes raise his head and say to friends: "It is not this war that worries me so much as what is coming after it."

He took great pleasure in ferreting out antiquarian and personal details of family history that would have overtaxed the patience of many a biographer and historian. In this way he prepared such useful monographs as: *The Adams Mansion, the Home of John Adams and John Quincy Adams, Presidents of the United States* (Quincy, Massachusetts: The Adams Memorial Society, 1935); *The Birthplaces of Presidents John and John Quincy Adams in Quincy, Massachusetts* (Quincy, Massachusetts: The Adams Memorial Society, 1936); and *A Catalogue of the Books of John Quincy Adams deposited in the Boston Athenæum, with Notes on Books, Adams Seals and Book-Plates, with an Introduction by Worthington Chauncey Ford* (Boston Athenæum, 1938). These publications were greatly helpful in the establishment of the Adams National Historic Site in 1946, an historical monument at Quincy under the administration of the National Park Service. At the time of his death Henry Adams, 2nd was at work on a documentary narrative (begun by his father, Charles Francis Adams, 2nd) of the life of his grandfather, Charles Francis Adams, the Minister.

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[1] In April, 1956, the trustees, Thomas Boylston Adams and John Quincy 2nd, transferred the great collection of Adams Mss. to the ownership of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Henry Adams left countless friendly memories among the staff of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where he spent many years, and with scholars who frequented the building. He was a generous contributor to the Society's manuscript collections and to its Endowment Fund.

Edwin Merrick Dodd

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.[1]

MERRICK DODD, elected a Resident Member in 1944, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1888. From St. Mark's School he went to Harvard College, from which he was graduated in 1910. He did especially well in history, under Professor Channing, who urged him to become a teacher of history, but Dodd preferred to study law. Still, he owed to this great teacher the historical interests which were always, in his thinking, intertwined with law. In the Harvard Law School, where he took his LL.B. in 1913, he became at once outstanding in classroom discussions, and when he was on the *Harvard Law Review* the most difficult subjects for long notes were customarily assigned to him.

Except for eight years of practising law in Boston and service on the legal staff of the War Industries Board in 1917–1918, Dodd's active career was teaching law. He was professor of it at Washington and Lee, the University of Nebraska, and the University of Chicago. In 1928 he was called to the Law School. His main subjects there were corporations and, for a few years, labor law. A former student thus describes him in the classroom:

> The things one remembers chiefly about Dodd's teaching are two-fold—clarity and charity. His students never went away confused. I am afraid he did not realize how good a teacher we thought he was. There was a certain shyness in his platform personality. He used to grip both sides of the desk and from time to time would appear to dodge an invisible bullet with a twitch of the head. But these signs of nervousness never detracted from the clear and logical presentation of his subject matter. To all his students he lent a polite ear, always attempting to make the most of questions and suggestions put during the class hour. He could make an interesting point out of the most inept recitation by the least brilliant member of the class. Though he had a fine sense of humor, he never used ridicule or sarcasm as a classroom technique. Encouraged by his courtesy, his students felt free to speak up in class, and imitating him, they learned to use their brains as well as their voices.

Teaching and writing were for Dodd parts of a single process. Dodd

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[1] Some passages of this memoir were written by other colleagues of Dodd, especially Professor Ralph J. Baker, who shared with him the course in Corporations.

E. Merrick Dodd

OF
HISTORICAL

was a natural writer and was constantly attracted by fresh problems.[2] The variety of his articles in law reviews is as impressive as the large number of them. He liked best to take a single important case or a few related cases, explore thoroughly what the Supreme Court had done, and then consider the effect on business or labor relations. His insight and almost brooding thoughtfulness provided him with subjects. But execution was not easy for him; the finished product is so finished that one does not see the hard work that had gone into the planning and revising, or the willingness to wait patiently until there came the right way to say what he so richly had to say.

Since Dodd's thinking about corporations, as embodied in his teaching and writings, was the chief work of his life, it is desirable to place him in the history of his absorbing subject. Approximately two hundred years measure the entire period in this country during which men have joined, collectively, to carry out enterprises beyond the means of one or a few to launch and maintain. The last thirty years of Dodd's life (1921–1951) formed the most significant part of this period.

Dodd truly lived during the long period of American collective enterprise (1750–1920) and the ensuing short period. As he wrote and read and thought and felt, he was caught up in the past and became with respect to it an outstanding legal historian of the long period. As he watched, considered, and foresaw what took place during the time he taught law, he became the incisive analyst of the recent period. No one has so completely, or with equal scope and capacity, combined the love for, and understanding of, legal economic history with an intense interest in, and a competency to deal with, corporate and collective problems of the present time. In his studies of the long period, his research was thorough; his appraisal of what he found was balanced and stimulating; his writing was fresh and clear. He thoroughly enjoyed doing this work.

Soon after joining the faculty of the Harvard Law School, he published an article on "Dogma and Practice in the Law of Associations."[3] It was at once plain that a new voice and an acute analytical mind had entered the field of corporation law, competent in a high degree to deal with history, theory, and practice. Here was the first evidence of the historian which led to the later articles and the eventual book. But here also was evidence of the capacities, which, over the next two decades, made Merrick Dodd the foremost commentator of our time on the corporation in law and society and as a collective instrument for production. With equal competency, he dealt with historical and political concepts of the nature of associations, including corporations, and with the very difficult problem of finding in the present some practical means in law to deal with associations which quite evidently did exist but did not have complete corporateness.

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[2] A bibliography of all Professor Dodd's published writings is in his *American Business Corporations until 1860* (1954), 452–458.

[3] *Harvard Law Review*, XLII (1929), 977.

Many years ago he began to plan a book on a wide scale about the early history of business corporations in America. His initial publication for this book was in 1934, an article on "The First Half Century of Statutory Regulation of Business Corporations in Massachusetts" which appeared in a *Festschrift.*[4] His public service during the Second World War postponed the carrying out of his plan, but it was constantly in his mind. As it began to take shape, he made notes and sketched out some parts. The chapter on "The Evolution of Limited Liability in Massachusetts" was read as a paper before this Society in November 1946.[5] During the last three years of his life he devoted his time and energy to this work, although carrying at the same time a full teaching load in the school and participating in the preparation of a new casebook and a new edition of another. His heart was in the historical work. It was going well, and he was happy. It was something he wanted very much to do. If he had not been a lawyer, he would have been a historian. In truth, he was both. Fortunately, before his death, his work was carried to the point where the manuscript could be gladly prepared by others for publication in 1954 as *American Business Corporations until 1860: with Special Reference to Massachusetts.*

The short period of the 30 years after 1921 in the law of corporations was illuminated in *Cases and Materials on Corporations,* by Dodd and Ralph J. Baker (latest edition, 1952) and *Cases and Materials on Corporate Reorganization,* by Dodd and De Forest Billyou (1950); and in Dodd's numerous articles, which swept over a wide range in the corporate field. Two principal areas particularly attracted his study: the fiduciary principle by which management and control must be governed and restrained, and the standards by which to determine whether plans for reorganization and recapitalization are fair and equitable to various classes of security holders. Merrick Dodd thought that the latter, on the surface a matter of finance, was only an aspect of the fiduciary principle, especially when solvent recapitalization is carried out without judicial or administrative supervision. Typical of his fiduciary emphasis is his lecture in December, 1940, at the school, which he called "The Modern Corporation, Private Property and Recent Federal Legislation."[6] The historian traced the radical change in the impact of the fiduciary principle which came from a hundred years of development from small-scale to large-scale capitalism. The ardent believer that large collective enterprise in his time called for, and perhaps could not survive, except by application of a most rigid fiduciary obligation put his finger on the points of danger and showed the weakness of what had yet been done to date by way of prevention or remedy. He found hope in recent federal statutes, although he was well aware of the fact that many of the points of danger were left uncovered.

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[4] *Harvard Legal Essays: Written in Honor of and Presented to Joseph Henry Beale and Samuel Williston* (1934), 65–132.

[5] *Proceedings,* LXVIII. 228–256.

His deep concern with the fiduciary principle was also shown by his discussion of the liability of a holding company for obtaining for itself property needed by a subsidiary,[7] and by his great interest in cases relating to the obligations of majority shareholders, not only to the minority but also to a class of shareholders, for example, the owners of preferred stock. His exhaustive paper on purchase and redemption by a corporation of its own shares, illustrates an area which he thought should be brought within the fiduciary principle.[8] It is written mostly in terms of finance and funds available, but it is clear that he thought that controls should be so established as to prevent breach of fiduciary obligation.

Although not putting investors above the public, he was particularly sensitive about wrongs to minority stockholders. He always insisted that directors were in a position of trust and confidence, and ought to be compelled by the courts to pay much more attention to their fiduciary duties. To corporation lawyers who ridiculed minority stockholders' suits because of the unusually minute interests of the plaintiffs therein, he replied by asking whether they would abolish taxpayers' suits for the same reason. He was well aware of the abuses of equity suits by minority shareholders, but maintained that they are the only effective check on possible misconduct by directors. Therefore, he regretted recent legislation rendering such suits almost impossible. Sooner or later, he predicted, the absence of this control would bring about corporate scandals. As a reaction, legislatures would establish government supervision over corporate action, which would be the last thing desired by those very lawyers who had rendered minority stockholders helpless by statute.

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[6] *Harvard Law Review*, LIV (1941), 917.

[7] *Harvard Law Review*, LVIII (1944), 125.

[8] *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, LXXXIX (1941), 697.

Among Dodd's articles on finance, probably the most significant is "Fair and Equitable Recapitalization."[9] His examination of plans for solvent recapitalization has never been surpassed, and is frequently cited by courts.

Dodd was much interested in public affairs, on which he could talk more agreeably than most people, keeping his emotions well in the background. His habit was to boil down the position of each side to a few cogent points, and only then express his own preferences. Occasionally he liked to state his opinions in tightly worded letters to the *New York Times* and other newspapers. He gave a brief talk to this Society early in 1947 on the issues in the John L. Lewis contempt case then before the Supreme Court.[10] Dodd's political and educational views were definitely on what would be called the liberal side. But his way and manner were quiet and gentle. His influence came from the weight and merit of his ideas, and not from any flamboyance or vigor in expressing them. In the spring of 1940 he became a very active member of "American Defense—Harvard Group," an organization formed by several professors to support the war effort in all possible ways, and to preserve democracy at home while defeating Naziism abroad.

After we entered the war, Dodd did a great deal of work in a sort of judicial capacity for the War Production Board. In his position as Compliance Commissioner, he was the trier of the facts in connection with complaints against users who either had no priority orders or obtained such orders by false statements. In every case, setting forth his findings, he stated his conclusions as to whether the regulations had been violated and, if so, whether willfully or not. Then he recommended appropriate action to the authorities in Washington, which might consist in orders for the cessation of wrongful use of materials, surrender of materials to the government, denial of priorities for several months, and so forth. This task was performed with insight and common sense. His carefully written decisions show an awareness of both war needs and human frailties. Our fellow-member, Charles M. Storey, who conducted the earlier cases before Commissioner Dodd on behalf of the WPB, writes: "Merrick and I both felt that we were on the firing line in attempting to preserve a democratic process in a totalitarian atmosphere, and we were very anxious that the crowd that was brought in should feel that they were given a fair shake."

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[9] *Harvard Law Review*, LV (1942), 780.

[10] *Proceedings*, LXVIII. 519. The case was later decided in United States v. United Mine Workers of America, 330, *United States Reports* (1947), 258.

Dodd also performed important tasks at Harvard in addition to teaching and writing. In 1937 he was one of nine senior professors who were asked by a large number of younger Harvard teachers to investigate the failure of the University to retain two men in the Economics Department. President Conant appointed these senior professors as an official committee to investigate this particular matter and to examine also the larger question of the university's policy regarding appointments, rank, promotion, tenure, and salaries. In the committee's division of labor Merrick was especially interested in the ideal qualifications of the teacher and in the teacher's duties to the extramural community. He was not one of the more loquacious members, but could be counted on to bring everybody to the point and to season occasional extravagances with a timely dose of good sense. Owing to his ability as a writer he was one of those selected to draft the final report. Beginning in the late spring of 1945, he was for two years chairman of the Admissions Committee at the Law School. He had a tremendous job selecting new students from the flood of returning veterans, when applications from men hitherto eligible far outran the capacity of the school.

Merrick Dodd never excelled in competitive sports, but he was fond of sailing, walking, and mountain-climbing. He was always an enthusiastic traveler. In early life he made several visits to Europe with his family or college friends. In those days everybody went abroad with a letter of credit from Brown, Shipley and Company, in London, which carried the printed warning in large type that, if it were lost, the loser would have to pay five pounds to get another such document. Merrick joined absent-mindedness with scholarship in his younger years; thus he was the only man his friends knew who *did* lose his letter of credit and had to pay five pounds.

Dodd shared his life with his wife more than most men do. She was Winifred Hyde, of Lincoln, Nebraska, a professor of psychology with a doctorate from Göttingen. They met while both were teaching at the University of Nebraska, and were married at Lincoln on June 20, 1928. Winifred in her own fields of activity exhibited the same devotion to the public good which conspicuously marked her husband—as a trustee of a home for delinquent boys, or equipping attractive recreation quarters for Filipino seamen who came into Boston Harbor during the war, or as the energetic president of the Cambridge League of Women Voters.

About 1929, they wisely used the proceeds of a profitable investment to buy an old house in Newcastle, New Hampshire, near Portsmouth. They rebuilt the house with much thought and created an unusually beautiful garden. Their place extended to the shore, with a lovely view and opportunities for sailing and swimming. Here they spent many happy summers and weekends, constantly extending delightful hospitality to faculty couples and other friends. They regretted their own lack of children, and were delightful with those of their friends. Dodd's *Class Report* in 1935 reflects his outlook on life in middle age:

> At present my principal occupations are seeking to keep ahead of my students in Cambridge, and to keep ahead of the insects which devour the fruit trees at my summer and week-end home. My favorite recreation is trying to make headway in a small knockabout against a five-knot tide with a four-knot breeze.

A long respite from work came in 1936 when he and his wife made a sabbatical journey around the world. They especially enjoyed India, where they stayed with Nehru and went through the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan.

Dodd's work on the War Production Board and the Admissions Committee, coming on top of his teaching, took a great deal out of him. Soon after the fighting ended, a serious heart condition revealed itself.

He had to give up golf and tramping, but happily was able to enjoy working in his Newcastle garden. He loved to play bridge, at which he was very good, besides being more pleasant company than some experts. He and Winifred shared life together, except for his hours at the School.

Late in the evening of November 3, 1951, they were returning from Portsmouth to their home in Newcastle, which was reached by a bridge of wooden planks. It was a bad night, rainy and foggy with the temperature around the freezing-point. Probably the cold air under the bridge had turned the moisture on its floor into ice. Just as their car got on the bridge, it skidded, crashed through the rail, and went into deep water. The only solace one can find is that neither could have borne to go on living without the other, and Merrick might have been carried off by illness as suddenly as he was by accident.

In a minute adopted by the Law School Faculty, it was said of Merrick Dodd: "If students, colleagues, relatives and friends were asked what characteristic of his stood uppermost in their minds, they would probably all agree that it was his kindliness." To this can be added his superb honesty of mind, his simple sincerity, and his shy capacity to be a friend. He was the kind of man you could count on—he never let himself off.

Frederic Lauriston Bullard

Elwin L. Page*

Frederic Lauriston Bullard, for more than forty years a writer on Lincoln and founder of the Lincoln Group, and actively associated with many organizations devoted to Lincoln's memory, died at eighty-six on Sunday, August 3, 1952, in his home at Melrose, Massachusetts. He was born at Wauseon, the seat of Fulton County, in the northwest corner of the State of Ohio, on May 13, 1866. His boyhood and young manhood were spent there. In this new community, planted a dozen years before, among the few hundred people of the place, he enjoyed the many advantages offered a boy in a small town. Later he went to Wooster College, in Ohio, where he was graduated in 1891, a member of Phi Beta Kappa rank. He received his Master of Arts degree in 1894. After leaving Wooster, he attended the Divinity School at Yale, being graduated in 1893 with the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, *magna cum laude*.

It must have pleased him when the old highway through Wooster became part of the new Lincoln Highway. How clearly his mind must have also returned to his undergraduate days as he wrote his book, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze* published in 1952 shortly before his death. In it is a chapter headed "The Seven Pelzers," in which he tells of the Lincoln statue by Alonzo Pelzer, erected on the campus of Wooster College.

In later years he received many honorary degrees: Doctor of Laws, Rhode Island State University, 1929; Doctor of Letters, Wooster College, 1930; Doctor of Letters, Northeastern University, Boston, 1934; and a Diploma of Honor, Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, 1941. In this year he gave the baccalaureate address, *The Other Lincoln*, at Harrogate. While he felt grateful for all the degrees given him by the universities which had honored him, he valued highest his Diploma of Honor from the Lincoln Memorial University. One of his associates, a very close friend, says that Bullard once remarked that if he lived beyond the twelfth of February in any year he was sure that he would survive the remaining months of the year. But this he failed, at last, to do.

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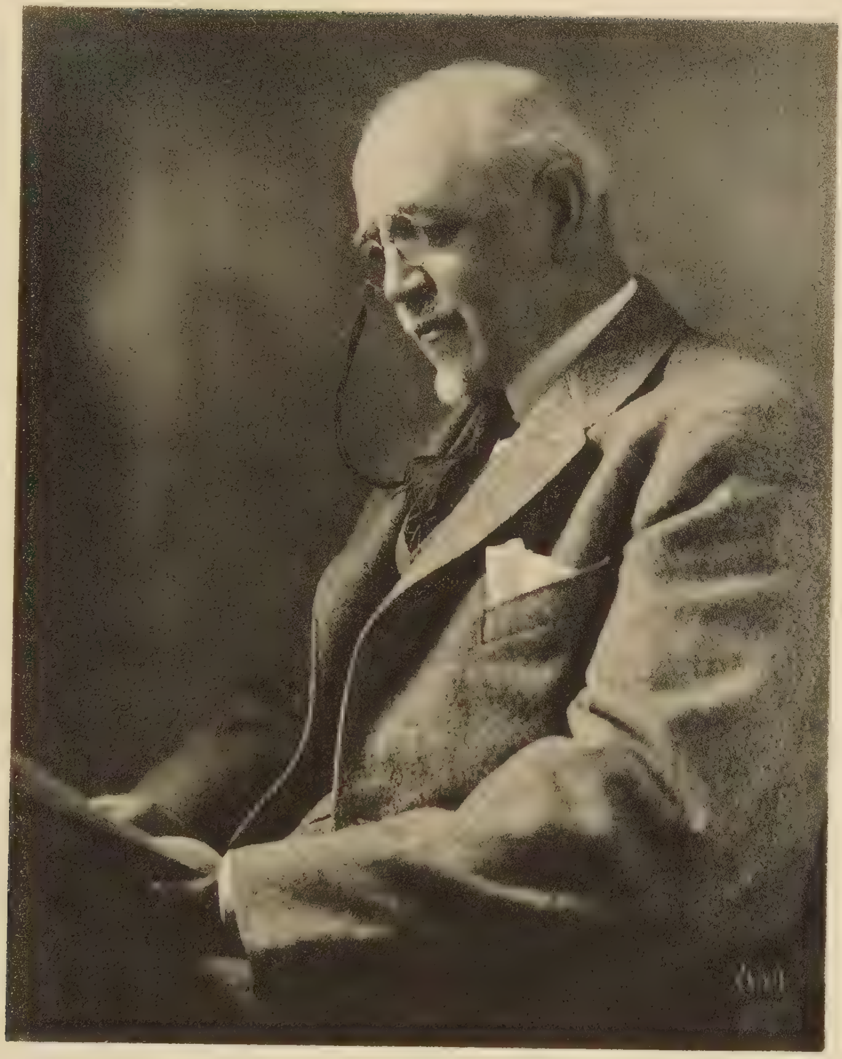
* Written for the Lincoln Club of Boston and reprinted with its courteous permission.



J. Lauriston Bullard

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL MEDICINE

For some ten years after his graduation from Yale, Mr. Bullard preached in various Presbyterian and Congregational pulpits. Taking up newspaper work in 1907, he followed it as a career for the rest of his active life. Rising in the journalistic ranks, he became editor of the *Boston Sunday Herald* in 1915, and in 1919 was made chief editorial writer of the *Boston Herald*, and in that position wielded great influence in Boston and New England. National fame came to Bullard in 1926, when he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his editorial entitled "We Submit," on the Sacco-Vanzetti case.[1] Lincolnians prized his editorials on Lincoln which continued to appear at intervals in the *Boston Herald*, even after his retirement in 1943.

While doing his exacting editorial work, Mr. Bullard found time to publish three books not dealing with Lincoln. *Historic Summer Haunts from Newport to Portland* (1912), a guide book of the first order, had a large sale. Two years later came *Famous War Correspondents*. Lastly, in 1921, there appeared a small book, *The Public Refuses to Pay*, a collection of his editorials on the situation in railroads and building.

Just when he began his work on Lincoln is not certain. It is known that he was already interested in the days when he served on the *Boston Sunday Herald*, and he was heard to say that *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze* was the work of forty years. His first publication on the subject was *Tad and His Father* (1915), which was later issued under various dates extending over nearly twenty years. In a sense, Abraham Lincoln became to Mr. Bullard what King Charles's head was to Mr. Dick. His long-time associate on the *Boston Herald*, Robert Lincoln O'Brien, recalled an incident which he believed was the occasion which definitely turned Mr. Bullard's interest to Lincoln. While this was of gradual growth, the original incentive seems to have been a remark by James Ford Rhodes, a great friend of both O'Brien and Bullard, to the effect that, looking backward, he felt sometimes that it would have been better if, instead of writing a comprehensive history of the Civil War, he had given the same time and energy to the two pre-eminent figures of that unhappy period, Lincoln and Lee. He had come to think that this epoch in American history could have best been pictured in the lives and experiences of those two great persons.

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[1] Most available as an appendix to Felix Frankfurter, *The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti* (Boston, 1927).

The time spent on a daily paper did not permit Mr. Bullard to undertake any large-scale Lincoln biography; so he became a specialist. One of his specialties was the running down of some stories that clustered about Lincoln. Here are two examples. Attracted to and first believing in the story of Lincoln's supposed conference with Henry Ward Beecher, Mr. Bullard yet thought it necessary to verify it, and came to believe the tale to be a myth. Another was the story that Adelina Patti sang for the Lincolns in the White House. He believed it and published it in the *Boston Herald*. Then, doubting, he got no less than Patti's own statement that she was never in the White House. After that he had an uncontrollable desire to search out the authority for every anecdote. He proved many to be false. His knowledge of Lincoln became encyclopedic. His published Lincolniana included books, prefaces, pamphlets, magazine articles, and reprints. His writings on Lincoln in newspapers would be too numerous to count, even if all of them could be identified.

In a sense, Mr. Bullard was a man of varied interests and avocations, with superior ability in many. He was a tennis enthusiast and expert, always called on to help in reporting international contests; as an authority on lilacs he was highly regarded by the staff of the Arnold Arboretum in Boston. The Thackeray Club of Boston considered him an authority on their subject. His various interests and sympathies made his sound scholarship and knowledge useful and important in many fields.

The Abraham Lincoln Association, in Springfield, Illinois, invited Mr. Bullard in 1941 to address the annual meeting. He took for his subject, "Abraham Lincoln and Henry Adams: A Contrast in Education." In 1943 he was appointed a director of the association, and continued on the board until his death.

In 1938 he became the chief founder of the Lincoln Group of Boston, and was its only president up to the time of his death. Under his leadership many fine papers on Lincoln were read to this group. Its members have long recognized their good fortune in having the stimulus of Mr. Bullard's scholarship as an example in the careful preparation of their own talks on matters relating to Lincoln. Their signed tribute to him, for his dedication to the Lincoln Group of Boston of the book, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze,* is illustrated in this volume. Unable because of illness to attend the meetings in his last years, he yet, by correspondence and interview, kept close touch with the group until the end. On March 9, 1944, Mr. Bullard was elected to the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was a faithful Member and to which he contributed many papers, the last of which is included in this volume.

Bullard was proud of his family and his ancestry, which was English, of course, stemming from the town of Bury St. Edmunds. Bullard's grandfather, Calvin Bullard, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, before the family moved to Canada. There Calvin married Hannah Griffin, whose family had come from Deerfield, New Hampshire. She was of sturdy Welsh ancestry, her father having been a soldier in the Revolution, serving in Canada. According to family tradition, an uncle of Hannah had been a great Indian fighter. According to another tradition, Calvin, because of his liking for Napoleonic history, introduced into the line the name, Lauriston, after Napoleon's aide-de-camp. Mr. Bullard's own leaning to historical interests seems, therefore, to have been inherited. After the birth of Bullard's father, Frederic Lauriston, the Bullard family migrated to the Western Reserve of Ohio.

Bullard's mother, Helen Maria (Ballard) Bullard, was born in Ohio, but of New England ancestry. Through her mother she was descended from John Strong, a founder of Dorchester, Massachusetts, and a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church. His great-grandfather Strong, a native of Lee, Massachusetts, moved on to Homer, New York, a New England community, and later followed the western migration as far as Lyme, Ohio. He conducted a temperance tavern and made it a station of the "underground railroad" which ran through Sandusky and across Lake Erie. His granddaughter, Mr. Bullard's mother, was sent east to Homer, New York, for her schooling.

In June, 1894, Mr. Bullard married Clara Elizabeth Keil, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. They had five children: Edward Lauriston Bullard, who died in the First World War; Frederic Keil Bullard; Helen Dorothea Zuver; Robert Paul Bullard; Clara Elizabeth Millane. His wife and four children survive him.

Despite a series of strokes and accidents which made Mr. Bullard an invalid during his last few years, he continued his writing, even until the last months when he was in bed. The years could not quench his gusto, and some of his best writing was done late in life. He was alert mentally to the last. His ashes lie in Puritan Lawn Cemetery, in Danvers, Massachusetts.

Meetings

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1950

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 5, 1950, at half-past three in the afternoon, President Bigelow in the chair.

The records of the minutes for the April and May meetings were read and approved.

The President announced the death at Shirley on May 19, 1950, of Charles Knowles Bolton, Senior Resident Member of the Society, who was elected on February 12, 1903; and Fred Tarbell Field at Newton, July 23, 1950, a Resident Member since November 10, 1938; and of Stephen Hyatt Pelham Pell in New York City on June 22, 1950, a Corresponding Member since February 12, 1948.

The President submitted to the Members a mimeographed statement of the investments of the Society, adding that there had been no change in the funds since June 30, 1950.

On the motion of the Treasurer, it was voted "that the income from the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society," this vote to be entered on the records of the meeting of May 11, 1950, in accordance with the stipulations of the donors of the fund, David Sears and Nathaniel Thayer.

Mr. Loring presented the Annual Report of the Treasurer, stating that for the year 1949–1950 the deficit of the Society, resulting from necessary expenses other than publications, amounted to $5,249.40, and that for the past five years a total deficit of approximately $30,000 had been met by withdrawals from the unrestricted capital funds of the Society.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

I HEREWITH submit my report for the Society for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950. Again this year there was an increase of income from securities as will be seen in the following tabulations:

	1948–1949	*1949–1950*	*Decrease*	*Increase*
Book Value of Bonds	$380,552.45	$380,384.43		
Bond Interest	10,405.00	10,175.00	$230.00	

Investment Ratio	38.28%	37.68%	
Yield	2.73%	2.67%	
Book Value of Stocks	613,484.14	629,072.34	
Dividends	36,763.16	39,743.25	$2,980.09
Investment Ratio	61.72%	62.32%	
Yield	5.99%	6.32%	
Total Increase in Income			$2,750.09

Expenses for the year decreased somewhat as shown by the following analysis. However, in spite of decreased expenditures, the Society's activities for the year resulted in a deficit of $5,249.11; which deficit I have charged to the principal of the unrestricted funds. This has relieved the Adams Fund considerably as you can see. The last five years the deficits charged to the Adams Fund have been as follows:

1945	$1,009.40
1946	494.59
1947	5,214.26
1948	8,928.23
1949	8,763.20
and in 1950	5,249.11
Total	$29,658.79

As I have said again and again, I don't see how it is possible to live within our income unless we receive voluntary contributions, as the deficit is eating steadily into our funds. Although we again increased our income, this time, by $2,750.09, this cannot go on forever and it seems that the only sound policy is to get contributions toward current expenses which is a difficult matter on account of the set-up of our Society or to increase our endowments by subscription.

Expenses

	1948–1949	*1949–1950*	*Decrease*	*Increase*
Building	$ 6,182.57	$ 6,910.28		$ 727.71
Library	3,576.07	1,501.81	$2,074.26	
Bindery	154.00	50.75	103.25	
Administration	2,537.24	2,768.21		230.97
Meeting and Membership	433.37	594.30		160.93
Coins and Medals	649.41	172.07	477.34	
Salaries	27,183.34	26,072.50	1,110.84	
	$40,716.00	$38,069.92	$2,646.08	

Not shown in this tabulation is the expenditure of $5,430.12 charged to the Building Annex Fund for the new library. Included were expenses of completing the work on the papers of the former Senator Lodge in the amount of $462.80 which have been charged to general expenses since the original gift for this work was exhausted.

One new fund of $10,000, from Sarah L. Guild, was added during the year, which is restricted to the maintenance of the Guild collection and paintings.

The only major change in the Funds occurred when the Frederic and Robert Winthrop Funds were consolidated into one fund, named the Winthrop Publication Fund. Since both funds were devoted to a single purpose and several volumes had been published from each fund, there was some doubt that the proper fund was credited in the case of sales of sets of Winthrop Papers. With this consolidation, no such error is possible.

Several changes were made in the Society's investments during the year both as to purchases and sales as set forth in detail in Schedule 1-A of the auditor's report. The following is a comparison of the book value with market value with percentages of each classification to the whole.

1949–1950	*Book Value*	%	*Market Value*	%
Bonds	$ 380,384.43	37.68	$ 367,895.00	31.90
Preferred Stocks . .	44,579.93	4.42	44,900.00	3.89
Common Stocks . .	584,492.41	57.90	740,530.26	64.21
	$1,009,456.77	100.00	$1,153,325.26	100.00

The books of the Society have been brought up to June 30, 1950, in agreement with the report by writing a summary of the year's transactions as reported by the State Street Trust Company.

Again, to refer to our annual deficit, I cannot see, with the present building, how we can operate more cheaply at the present time, and we must bend every effort to increase our income either, as I have said, by increased endowments or by annual subscription.

Augustus P. Loring, Jr.
Treasurer

The Director read a report for the Cabinet-Keeper, and the Librarian a report of accessions by the Society since May, 1950.

From Miss Elsie Adams of Chula Vista, California, a number of letters written by her father, Lieutenant Henry S. Adams, of the Third Massachusetts Cavalry, while on duty before Port Hudson, Louisiana, in 1863; also his commission, discharge, and other papers relating to him.

From Miss Ruth L. S. Childs, of Malden, her manuscript, "History of the Schools of Malden, Massachusetts, 1649–1934."

From Miss Mary Rudd Cochran, of New Richmond, Ohio, some photographs of Andover, Massachusetts, about 1892, and an album of photographs of scenes along the New England coast taken about 1905.

From Miss Esther Jackson and Mrs. Dorothy Quincy Bastille of Peterboro, New Hampshire, a small collection of manuscripts relating to the Jackson family.

From Miss Elizabeth G. Norton, a small collection of papers relating to the Andrews and Norton families.

From Mrs. W. H. Noble, Jr., of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a letter from Phillis Wheatley, the Negro poetess, to Obour Tanner, dated at Boston, May 6, 1774.

From the estate of Belle Davenport Palmer of Saginaw, Michigan, through James J. Yeo, executor, a number of eighteenth-century documents relating to Samuel Wright, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

From Henry R. Scott, of Framingham Centre, the papers (1842–1885) of General George Henry Gordon (1823–1886). Gordon was graduated from West Point in 1846. Following a short service in Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, he was sent to Mexico where he took part in all the battles fought by General Scott. He resigned from the Army in 1854, and after attending Harvard Law School for two terms in 1855–1856 he was admitted to practise in 1857. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Gordon raised the regiment which became the Second Massachusetts Infantry. He served in various commands until June, 1865. He was brevetted major-general of volunteers April 9, 1865.

From Mrs. Ralph E. Stevens, of Peterboro, New Hampshire, five Civil War letters written in 1865 by Dr. Henry J. Millard of the Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and a Boston imprint, Aaron Smith's *Some Temporal Advantages in Keeping Covenant with God . . .* (Boston, 1749).

From Vassar College, a partial file of *The Recorder*, the bulletin of the American Irish Historical Society.

By purchase: William Apes's *Eulogy on King Philip . . .* (Boston, 1836); the first edition of John Cotton's *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven . . .* (London, 1644), and an early Boston imprint, Nehemiah Walter's *A Discourse Concerning the Wonderfulness of Christ* (Boston, 1713); also, fifteen manuscripts pertaining to the Park family of Massachusetts.

From Leander McCormick-Goodhart, of Alexandria, Virginia, 112 medals to be added to our collection of medals struck to commemorate the operations in the West Indies during the years 1739–1741 of Vice-Admiral Edward Vernon.

The Director then read the Annual Report of the Council after which the Society voted to accept the reports of the Treasurer and the Director for printing in the *Proceedings* of the Society.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

IN 1895 Booker T. Washington addressed the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition in Georgia. His speech can be found in *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography*, which he published in 1900. In beginning, he told a memorable story:

> A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water, send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River.

For many years it was the fervent hope of some of the most active Members of this Society that we should leave this building and move back to our natural neighborhood on Beacon Hill—near the Archives of the Commonwealth, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and the Boston Athenæum, the neighborhood we left in 1897 in the popular, if unlucky, drift toward The Fenway. What the Society needed for a home was not a handsome clubhouse of marble and quartered oak, but the kind of building which would now be called "functional." The Second World War put an end to that hope, and your Council was persuaded by your Director to "cast down its bucket" where it was. How much fresh water will come up from the Muddy River remains to be seen.

During the past three years a grand total of $85,000 has been taken out of the Building Fund for the express purpose of repairing the home we have and making that home as serviceable as possible to the needs of the Society. This work entailed great difficulties for the staff, the Members, and the visiting scholars, who have always been made welcome to the best of our ability. During the past year 1,528 persons have been waited on here in this building—of these only 118 were Members; 1,410 were outsiders—persons who came to make good use of what is primarily a great free national research society. They came from all parts of the United States, and some of them even from Europe. These figures are all the more impressive when it is remembered that they do not include the daily inquiries by telephone and letter. Many scholars spend weeks, and even months, in this building. The Librarian gives countless hours in looking up answers to questions received by mail. A large part of the correspondence of both the Director and the Librarian is devoted to helping people whom they have never even seen. Far too much unfavorable attention has been drawn to this Society because of its limited membership.

As to the staff of the Society—during the past year your Council has had to make two changes. Miss Dorothy Fox left the service of the Society for a much better position on September 15, 1949, for the simple reason that we were without sufficient financial means to match the offer which she received from Tufts College. In December the Council had the good fortune to engage the services of Miss Winifred Collins, who had worked for several years in the Library of the Harvard Law School and, later on, in the executive offices of Lever Brothers. Robert Lee Adams, our second janitor, left the service of the Society on September 1, 1950, after three years, because the Director advised the Council that, now that the period of emergency was over, it was time to return to the old and more economical system of one janitor. Yet the saving of $2,080 a year in the wages of Adams will be partially offset by certain raises in salaries, two of which have already been promised, and four others which cannot longer be delayed. As a result of these changes, the Society will effect a saving for the year 1950–1951 of exactly $440.00. A portion of the increases granted, we should all remember, will be absorbed by the raising of income taxes made effective on the first of October. For the time being, then, the situation as to salaries and wages is satisfactory, but it cannot last forever, and it will not.

For many years—far too many, now—this Society has found itself in the peculiar position of having sufficient, not to say ample, income for even the rising cost of its publications, but a grossly inadequate income with which to meet its general expenses. Last year, for instance, a Special Committee on Finances, consisting of JOHN ADAMS, Chauncey Cushing Nash, and your Director, made a report to your Council—April 11, 1950. According to this report, although there was a net balance of $5,634.38 in the income of Publication Funds of the Society, general expenses exceeded income during the preceding year by $16,799.40. From this was deducted gifts of $4,275 during the year 1949–1950, leaving a net operating deficit of $12,524.40. This deficit was met by withdrawing $9,190.29 from the Adams Fund and taking $3,334.11 from other sources. This is nothing new: the General Fund of $58,000 disappeared into annual deficits by 1945. The Adams Fund is now being eaten away, in its turn. In order to save what is left of it, your Finance Committee—President Bigelow, James Melville Hunnewell, and Ralph Lowell—acting in concert with your Treasurer, Mr. Loring, decided last spring that the annual deficit henceforth should be levied *pro rata* on all the funds of the Society which were unrestricted as to capital. These unrestricted funds are twelve in number:

Adams Fund	$ 27,500.00
Frederic Bancroft Fund	3,000.00
Louisa Williams Case Fund	5,000.00
Max Farrand Fund	1,000.00
John Whittemore Farwell Fund	5,000.00
Helen Alvera (Lake) Lill Fund	5,851.04
Henry Lefavour Fund	10,000.00
Clarence Bloomfield Moore Fund	2,500.00
Grenville Howland Norcross Fund Number II	50,000.00
Charlotte Augusta Sibley Fund	22,509.48
Charles Grenfill Washburn Fund	2,500.00
Albert Whitin Fund	4,550.00
Total	$139,410.52

Once these funds are gone, the Society will have reached the end of its tether.

There are just three ways to escape from this dream world of impending doom. The first way would be to cut our staff to a skeleton crew, and then close the building, and the services of the Society, to the public. A second would be to increase our income from endowments; about one-third of the capital funds of this Society are tied up in bonds of the Federal Government. A third means—and the most evident—would be to add to our endowment by an appeal, first to Members of the Society, and then to the public. The Council has already chosen this third way out of its dilemma, but the wording and the timing of such an appeal have yet to be decided. At the very best, then, the financial state of this Society is such as would have taxed the ingenuity of Alexander Hamilton.

During the past year your Council unanimously voted to sell certain valuable duplicate volumes from the Henry Adams Library, and invest the proceeds of those sales in containers for manuscripts, such as are used in the National Archives Building in Washington. A balance of receipts from these sales will be spent for a reading machine for microfilms. The containers arrived last June, and the Librarian and his staff have been busily engaged all summer at taking our precious manuscripts out of the careless old dirty bundles of the past, dusting and sorting them, and replacing them safely on the shelves of the stacks. This important labor has to be sandwiched in between calls for service by telephone, letter, and personal appearance. In addition to their many other duties, the Librarian and his staff of two—Mr. Wheeler and Miss Collins—have had to catalogue the following accessions:

Books:	By gift	267	
	By purchase	34	301
Periodicals:	By gift	458	
	By purchase	86	544
Pamphlets:	By gift	293	
	By purchase	1	294
Broadsides:	By gift		118
Newspapers:	By gift		24
Sheet Music:	By purchase		42
Maps:	By gift		2

The steady and healthy growth of our card catalogue required the purchase of a new steel section, which was also paid for out of receipts from sales of duplicates.

The Guild Library, left to us by the late Sarah Louisa Guild, together with a restricted fund of $10,000, has been moved, for the most part, into the Special Libraries Room, to the left of the front door, where all the most precious volumes already repose. The great collection of Guild autographs has been catalogued and shelved. With this accession, the Society now possesses, taking into account all its collections, as fine an assortment of autographs and autograph letters signed as can be found anywhere in the United States. Before many years have passed, the Manuscript Library will be in such condition as to make it valuable to visitors. The old days of sneaking bundles of manuscripts downstairs out of darkness, disorder, and dirt are over, forever.

In the meantime, your new Cabinet-Keeper, Mr. WHITEHILL, has been diligently engaged at the business of cleaning, repairing, cataloguing, and rehanging the pictures and the portraits in our possession. All those for which no wall space is available have been stored in the racks provided for that purpose in the tower room on the fourth floor of this building. With the consent of the Council, he has had all those for which no negatives—or no good negatives—existed photographed—one file of positives to be kept in his office at the Boston Athenæum, and the other in this building. At some date in the not too remote future, Mr. WHITEHILL plans to prepare, and publish, a catalogue of our pictures and portraits—the latest having appeared in 1888. The cost of this catalogue, which can only add to the good reputation of the Society, will probably be met by special gifts from Resident Members. Thanks to Mr. WHITEHILL and our faithful staff, the Museum of the Society, housed in Ellis Hall directly beneath us, is now in beautiful and honorable order.

As regards membership, death has dealt gently with the Society. Since the last Annual Meeting, three Resident and two Corresponding Members have disappeared from our ranks. HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA, elected a Resident Member on March 10, 1949, died at Cambridge on April 26, 1950; FRED TARBELL FIELD, elected November 10, 1938, died at Newton, July 23, 1950; and CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON, elected February 12, 1903, and Senior Resident Member, died at Shirley on May 19, 1950. On January 5, 1950, WILLIAM HOVGAARD, elected a Resident Member January 8, 1931, and transferred to Corresponding Membership in 1934, died in New Jersey. STEPHEN HYATT PELHAM PELL, elected a Corresponding Member on February 12, 1948, died in New York on June 22, 1950. Since our last Annual Meeting, only two Members have been elected to the Society: STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY and WARREN GAGE WHEELER having been chosen Numbers 659 and 660, respectively, on November 10, 1949. At the present moment we have 99 Resident Members out of a possible 125, and 47 Corresponding Members out of a possible 50. Five Associate Members stand on our rolls, and the Honorary Membership of 10 is full.

Your Director, who is also your Editor, has managed to produce only one publication during the past year, the twenty-fifth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts. Proceedings* 68 is well on its way through our new press in Portland. Your Committee of Publication is reading proof on the eighth volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* the fifth to be prepared by Mr. SHIPTON. This covers the Classes 1726–1730, inclusive. These Sibley volumes are adding steadily to the good reputation of the Society, and our Sibley Editor cannot be complimented too highly on his diligence, his skill, and his scope. We can only wish Dr. SHIPTON a long life, if for no other reason than that he has a full century of classes yet to go. It is only fair to call the attention of the Society to the fact that the cost of publication of no one of these three forthcoming volumes—*Proceedings* 68. *Winthrop Papers,* VI, and *Sibley,* VIII, will add to the deficit of this Society by so much as one dollar, for in every case the books will be paid for out of income expressly restricted to, and set aside for the purpose. Our annual deficits, it ought to be repeated, are the result of general expenses for which the general income is utterly inadequate. These general expenses cannot be cut down further.

During the past year, six Members, SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, FREDERIC HAINES CURTISS, GILBERT MONTAGUE, STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS, and ELLERY SEDGWICK, have contributed a total of $1,050 toward meeting the annual deficit of this Society. With the advice and consent of the Council, moreover, the Treasurer wrote to ROBERT WINTHROP, a Corresponding Member, to ask his permission to use his gift of $2,600 in 1949 for the deficit, in view of the fact that there was a balance of $9,000 from income and gifts in funds allocated for the *Winthrop Papers.* Mr. WINTHROP graciously gave consent for both himself and his brother, our Resident Member, FREDERIC WINTHROP. Moreover, HENRY ADAMS gave $2,500 for an instalment toward the cost of the JOHN ADAMS Letters bought from Horatio Seymour, descendant of JOHN, through his son Charles (1770–1800).

The Council voted to give the Treasurer authority to charge the salaries of your Director and his Editorial Assistant for the year 1950–1951 to this $9,000, the balance in the Winthrop Funds, having in mind the fact that nothing but the cost of printing and binding the *Winthrop Papers* had ever been charged against these funds. These two salaries amount to $5,520—of which your Director receives $2,244 *per annum*. While this transaction will decrease the annual deficit for the year ending October, 1951, the remedy, though just in view of all the burdens which the Sibley Fund has carried, first and last, will be only temporary, and apparent. Any one who has the courage to calculate can only conclude that this Society cannot continue to exist, in present circumstances, without raising a General Fund of at least $300,000.

At the suggestion of your Director and the Committee on Meetings—M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Chairman, and his colleagues, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and William Alexander Jackson—the Council voted unanimously to add an Annual Dinner to the Annual Meeting of the Society—something of an innovation after one hundred and sixty years of nothing but "a feast of reason and a flow of soul." Two methods of paying for this dinner were discussed and rejected. First, the Committee on Meetings and the Council decided that the Society should not pay for it—in view of the financial shape of its annual deficit. Then the Director decided that the diners should not pay for themselves. With the consent of the Treasurer, a compromise was contrived—but for this year only—according to which sixteen Resident Members, who prefer to remain anonymous, have generously contributed to the Society the whole cost of food and refreshments. This Annual Dinner Fund already amounts to seven hundred and thirty dollars.

And now for the last, and the most important, change of the year 1950. With the reluctant consent of the Nominating Committee—Messrs. Philip Putnam Chase, Chairman, and his colleagues, Fred Norris Robinson, Henry Latimer Seaver, Clifford Kenyon Shipton, and William Alexander Jackson—our President, Albert Francis Bigelow, is retiring from the office he has occupied with patience, integrity, tact, and, above all, with good humor, since 1942. The faithfulness with which he has attended meetings, and the skill with which he has presided, need hardly be called to the attention of any active Member of this Society. Yesterday Mr. Bigelow celebrated his seventieth birthday. It is the earnest hope of the Council that the Society may congratulate him and thank him once more for his loyal service on his eightieth birthday, at least.

Today, with your consent, JOHN ADAMS, son of our illustrious President from 1895 until his death in 1915, takes the place of Mr. BIGELOW—also reluctantly, because of his keen sense of the difficult days which lie before us. Mr. ADAMS was elected a Member only five years ago, but his interest in preserving and improving the Society which his father honored and adorned for forty years, and practically maintained for twenty, has been a source of constant encouragement to both its Members and its staff. We wish him good health and long life—and all the happiness which a President of this Society has any right to expect.

STEWART MITCHELL
For the Council

PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE, Chairman of the Nominating Committee appointed by the President in May, 1950, reported for himself and his colleagues, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, HENRY LATIMER SEAVER, CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, and WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON, the following nominations for officers for the year 1950–1951:

President
JOHN ADAMS

Vice-Presidents
MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE
ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer
AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

Cabinet-Keeper
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

New Members-at-Large of the Council
1950–1953
PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE
ROBERT EARLE MOODY

Members-at-Large of the Council
1948–1951
HENRY LATIMER SEAVER
CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH

1949–1952
HAROLD BOWDITCH
ERNEST STANLEY DODGE

The Society voted to accept the report of the Nominating Committee and directed the Recording Secretary to cast one ballot for the nominees, who were then declared elected.

The Director communicated a paper, by title, "The Society 'Beats' President Adams."[1]

November Meeting, 1950

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 9, 1950, at a quarter to four in the afternoon, President ADAMS in the chair.

The records of the October Meeting and the first Annual Dinner of the Society on the evening of October 5, at the Club of Odd Volumes were read and approved.

The President announced the death at Boston on October 15, 1950, of SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT, a Resident Member of the Society since April 13, 1933; and at Shirley on October 30, 1950, of CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED, a Resident Member of the Society since December 8, 1938.

The President read the Standing Committees which had been appointed for the year 1950–1951:

Finance: JOHN ADAMS, *Chairman ex officio*; ALBERT FRANCIS BIGELOW, JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL, and RALPH LOWELL.

House: CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, *Chairman*; CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND, and PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE.

Library: LEE MAX FRIEDMAN, *Chairman*; HENRY LATIMER SEAVER, and VERNON DALE TATE.

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[1] Printed in this volume, 144–147.

Meetings: Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, *Chairman*; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and William Alexander Jackson.

Membership: Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., *Chairman*; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., John Adams, Chauncey Cushing Nash, and Stewart Mitchell.

Publication: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *Chairman*; Samuel Eliot Morison, Clifford Kenyon Shipton, Walter Muir Whitehill, and Stewart Mitchell.

The President submitted two proposed amendments to the By-Laws which the Council had voted to recommend to the Society for action at the stated Meeting on December 14, 1950, as follows:

> Amend the third paragraph of Chapter III by striking out the words:—"Consisting of three persons"—so that the paragraph shall read:—"At the monthly meeting in May, annually a Nominating Committee shall be appointed, who shall report to the Annual Meeting a list of officers for the ensuing year."
>
> Amend Article 2 of Chapter VII by striking out in the first paragraph thereof the word:—"two"—and inserting the words:—"not over four"—so that the first sentence of the paragraph shall read:—"At the meeting of the Council next following the Annual Meeting of the Society the Council shall choose not over four members of the Society, who with the President as Chairman *ex officio*, shall constitute the Finance Committee."

Speaking for the Cabinet-Keeper, the Director called the attention of the Members to two new showcases for the Dowse Library, which had been built according to the order of the Council on May 11, 1951.

The Director made his monthly report of accessions, and spoke of the ten new boxes of papers of the late James Ford Rhodes, as these papers had been sorted and arranged by Mr. Riley.

From Mrs. Charles Knowles Bolton, of Shirley, the diaries of her late husband from July 2, 1939, to April 23, 1950.

From John S. Codman, a collection of Codman family papers, 1781–1944.

From Dr. Joseph E. Fields, of Joliet, Illinois, a collection of documents relating to the Cushing family of Plymouth County, 1695–1844.

From John Silsbee Lawrence, of Manchester, a group of letters written by Amos Lawrence to Abbott Lawrence, 1814–1827, several account books of Amos Lawrence and Amos A. Lawrence, and a number of printed books relating to the Lawrence family.

From Miss Charlotte Morse, of Needham, the first installment of the papers of John Torrey Morse, Jr. (1840–1937). The collection includes letters written by Charles Francis Adams, Henry Adams, Alexander Agassiz,

Frederic Bancroft, Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, John Fiske, Robert Grant, John Hay, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Kendall Hosmer, George Washington Julian, Henry Cabot Lodge, Abbott Lawrence Lowell, Samuel Walker McCall, James Ford Rhodes, Theodore Roosevelt, James Schouler, Carl Schurz, Moorfield Storey, Ida Minerva Tarbell, William Roscoe Thayer, Moses Coit Tyler, Booker Taliaferro Washington, Barrett Wendell, Richard Grant White, and others.

From Mrs. Herbert Foster Otis, a document dated April 14, 1676, covering the settlement of the estate of Benjamin Gillam, of Boston.

From Henry W. Patterson, of Weston, a number of papers relating to Charles Adams, Jr., treasurer of Massachusetts, who went to London in 1871 on a bond-selling mission.

From Charles Moorfield Storey, a large collection of pamphlets assembled by Moorfield Storey on Civil Service Reform and other subjects.

By purchase: a rare Boston imprint, Thomas Blower's *The Deaths of Eminent Men* . . . (Boston, 1716), and Charles Chauncy's . . . *The Plain Doctrine of the Justification of a Sinner in the sight of God* . . . (London, 1659).

Philip Putnam Chase read a paper entitled "A Crucial Juncture in the Political Careers of Henry Cabot Lodge and John Davis Long, 1886."[2]

December Meeting, 1950

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 14, 1950, at half-past three in the afternoon, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the November Meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported the accessions of the Society for the preceding month, and the Cabinet-Keeper called the attention of the Members to the reproduction of the "Perspective View of the Blockade of Boston Harbor," by Christian Remick, which the Director had purchased and framed as a gift to the Society.

From Harvard College Library, a collection of petitions, letters, *etc.*, to the selectmen of Cambridge (1763–1843).

From the New Hampshire Historical Society, a group of papers concerning the work of the Overseers of the Poor of Boston (1733–1854).

From Rhodes Robertson, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, a small collection of deeds relating to the Cushing family.

[2] Printed in this volume, 102–127.

From W. C. Williams, of Hanford, California, a commission appointing the Reverend E. P. Rogers, of Northampton, Chaplain of the Third Regiment of Artillery. Issued by Governor George N. Briggs, September 7, 1850.

From George Gregerson Wolkins, a letter from Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to Andrew J. Peters, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, dated May 10, 1915, and a letter from Andrew J. Peters to George G. Wolkins, dated May 13, 1915, on the subject of the use of Colver coal by the United States Navy.

By purchase: a number of eighteenth-century Boston newspapers, including rare issues of the Boston *News-Letter*, Boston *Evening Post* and Boston *Gazette*; a manuscript letter of Edmund Quincy to Katherine Quincy dated at Medfield, May 8, 1779, and an interesting pamphlet, *Constitution of the Moral Society of Rowley and Byfield. etc.* (Newburyport, 1814).

The President announced that the Council had transferred to Resident Membership the following three Associate Members: Archibald MacLeish, of Boston, Charles Howard McIlwain, of Newton, Arthur Stanwood Pier, of Boston, and with these transfers the Society had one hundred Resident Members.

After remarks by the President, the Society voted to amend the By-Laws, as follows:

> Amend the third paragraph of Chapter III by striking out the words:—"consisting of three persons"—so that the paragraph shall read:—"At the monthly meeting in May, annually, a Nominating Committee shall be appointed, who shall report to the Annual Meeting a list of officers for the ensuing year."
>
> Amend Article 2 of Chapter VII by striking out in the first paragraph thereof the word:—"two"—and inserting the words:—"not over four"—so that the first sentence of the paragraph shall read:—"At the meeting of the Council next following the Annual Meeting of the Society the Council shall choose not over four members of the Society, who, with the President as Chairman *ex officio*, shall constitute the Finance Committee."

George Talbot Goodspeed, of Concord, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Clifford K. Shipton speaking as sponsor.

Michael Joseph Walsh, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill speaking as sponsor.

Zechariah Chafee, Jr., read a paper entitled "Congressional Reapportionment Under the Census of 1950,"[3] supplementing a paper which he read in regard to the Census of 1940.

Arthur Stone Dewing spoke on "Aspects of Ancient Coinage," showing the Members slides of some of the finest and most characteristic coins of the Greek Mediterranean civilization and exhibiting specimens of ancient coins which he had brought over from the Museum of Fine Arts.

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[3] Printed in this volume, 237–239.

January Meeting, 1951

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 11, 1951, at half-past three in the afternoon, President ADAMS in the chair.

The record of the December Meeting was read and approved.

Reporting for Mr. WOLCOTT, Mr. WHITEHILL stated that acceptances of election to Resident Membership had been received from GEORGE TALBOT GOODSPEED, of Concord, and MICHAEL JOSEPH WALSH, of Boston.

Mr. RILEY read the monthly report of the Director, and Mr. WHITEHILL reported for the Cabinet.

From LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS, a photostat of a commission issued to Benjamin Gilbert in 1745 by William Shirley to take part in the expedition against Louisburg; also a photostat of an order of the selectmen of Salem of April 7, 1783, allowing Asa Leach and Benjamin Waters to keep the Beverley Ferry.

From Russell Hawes Kettell, of Concord, a manuscript containing presentments made and agreed upon by the Grand Jury inquest and given in at the Quarter Sessions held at Barnstable on the first Tuesday of April, 1708. These presentments are concerned with cases of sexual immorality.

From Miss Charlotte Morse, of Needham, the remaining portion of the papers of her father, JOHN TORREY MORSE, Jr.

From CHARLES MOORFIELD STOREY, a file of the *Official Bulletin* published by the United States Committee on Public Information (May 10, 1917–August 13, 1918).

From W. C. Williams, of Hanford, California, a commission appointing Richard Chenery, of Northampton, a lieutenant in the Third Regiment of Artillery. Issued by Governor George N. Briggs, May 27, 1846.

The President announced the death at Ann Arbor, Michigan, on January 4, 1951, of RANDOLPH GREENFIELD ADAMS, a Corresponding Member of the Society since February 13, 1936.

The President reported that the Council had nominated the following for Resident Membership: Mark Bortman, of Newton, Charles Pelham Curtis, Jr., of Boston, Stephen Wheatland, of Brookline, these nominations to be acted on at the stated meeting of the Society on February 8, 1951.

Mr. Whitehill read a paper by M. A. DeWolfe Howe called "Dwellers in Old Dwellings—George Berkeley at Whitehall and the Adamses at Quincy."[4]

After remarks by President Adams, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, H. W. Foote, and F. W. Grinnell, the meeting then adjourned.

February Meeting, 1951

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 8, 1951, at half-past three in the afternoon, Vice-President Chafee in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Director submitted the monthly report of accessions to the Cabinet and to the Library of the Society for Mr. Whitehill and Mr. Riley.

From the Harvard Business School Library, a collection of papers of the Park family of Groton, 1772–1914.

The Director called the attention of the Society to the fact that he had inadvertently given the wrong title to the paper which Mr. O'Brien was about to read to the Members—that the title properly should have read: "Grover Cleveland as Seen by his Stenographer, July, 1892–November, 1895."[5]

The Director reported that the following gentlemen were guests of the Society at the invitation of Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Wolkins: Frank W. Buxton, Benjamin F. Felt, Harry E. Grigor, Hugh J. Coleridge Mackarness, Frank E. Rowe, and William M. Warren.

The chair announced the death at Dedham on February 5, 1951, of George Russell Agassiz, who was elected a Corresponding Member on March 13, 1919, and transferred to Resident Membership on May 14, 1936. The Chair called attention to the fact that the late Mr. Agassiz had selected and edited one of the most distinguished of the Special Publications issued by the Society, a collection of letters of

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[4] Printed in this volume, 21–32.

[5] Printed in this volume, 128–143.

Colonel Theodore Lyman, entitled, *Meade's Headquarters, 1863–1865*, published in 1922.

The chair announced that the Council, in order to add one member to the Committee of Publication, now consisting of five members, had voted to submit to the Society the following amendment to the By-Laws, this amendment to be acted on at the stated meeting of the Society on March 8, 1951:

> Strike out the second paragraph of Article 1, Chapter XII, "of the Publications," which reads as follows:
>
> "The Committee of Publication shall consist of five Members of the Society, of which number the Editor of the Society's publications, if a member of the Society, shall be one."
>
> and insert the following:
>
> "The Editor of the Society's publications, if a member of the Society, shall be a member of the Committee of Publication."

The chair then submitted to the Society three nominations for Resident Membership, as voted by the Council at its stated meeting on January 11, 1951: Mark Bortman, of Newton, for whom Walter M. Whitehill spoke as sponsor; Charles Pelham Curtis, of Boston, for whom Roger Wolcott spoke as sponsor; and Stephen Wheatland, of Brookline, for whom Ernest Stanley Dodge spoke as sponsor. These three persons were duly elected Resident Members.

Mr. Wolkins presented a paper dealing with the late Lord Bryce's opinion of President Theodore Roosevelt's judgment on matters of international law as revealed in the negotiations over the controversy as to tolls at the Panama Canal—Lord Bryce having expressed his opinion privately at a round-table conference at Williams College in 1921. Mr. Wolkins stated that Lady Bryce had asked him not to publish her late husband's statement and that, therefore, although the three persons concerned, Theodore Roosevelt, Lord Bryce, and Lady Bryce, were all dead, he would communicate his paper to the Society but not offer it to the Director for publication in the *Proceedings*. Theodore Roosevelt had defended the exempting of coastwise vessels from the payment of tolls at the Panama Canal—an exemption which President Woodrow Wilson persuaded the Congress of the United States quite properly to repeal.

Robert Lincoln O'Brien read a paper entitled, "Grover Cleveland as Seen by his Stenographer, July, 1892–November, 1895."[6]

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[6] Printed in this volume, 128–143.

March Meeting, 1951

The Society met in the Dowse Library at half-past three on the afternoon of Thursday, March 8, 1951, Vice-President Chafee in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of February 8 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that he had received acceptances of Resident Membership from the following three gentlemen: Mark Bortman, of Newton; Charles Pelham Curtis, of Boston; Stephen Wheatland, of Brookline.

The Director submitted the monthly report of accessions to the Library and the Cabinet of the Society for Mr. Riley and Mr. Whitehill.

From Philip Putnam Chase, a number of volumes owned by Timothy Pickering including a set of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 1774–1784, and a presentation copy of John Marshall's *History of the American Colonies* (Philadelphia, 1824).

From Lawrence Waters Jenkins, a document dated June 28, 1848, issued to George Perry by the Salem Naval Office. It carries the signature of Nathaniel Hawthorne, as surveyor.

From Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York, New York, 15 letters written by Robert C. Winthrop to various correspondents, dated 1847–1890.

From Miss Grace W. Treadwell, of Kittery Point, Maine, an account book kept by Benjamin Eustis, Jr., from July 24, 1749, through November, 1757.

The chair announced the death at Newton Highlands on Friday, March 2, 1951, of George Gregerson Wolkins, a Resident Member of the Society since February 10, 1921, Treasurer of the Society from 1928 to 1943, and Vice-President of the Society from 1943 to 1947, stating that the Council had asked the Director to prepare a tribute to Mr. Wolkins.

The chair then called for a vote on the change in the By-Laws as proposed by the Council on February 8, 1951, and as printed on the second page of the notices of the meeting of March 8, 1951:

Chapter XII, *Article* 1. Strike out the second paragraph of "Of the Publications," which reads as follows: "The Committee of Publication shall consist of five members of the Society, of which number the Editor of the Society's publications, if a member of the Society, shall be one." and insert the following: "The

Editor of the Society's publications, if a member of the Society, shall be a member of the Committee of Publication."

The Society voted to approve the amendment.

The chair, in accordance with the nominations of the Council announced at the stated meeting of February eighth, called for a ballot on the following:

For Resident Membership: Crane Brinton, of Cambridge, Professor HARING standing as sponsor, and Willard Goodrich Cogswell, of Haverhill, Mr. WHITEHILL standing as sponsor.

For Corresponding Membership: Henry Francis duPont, of Winterthur, Delaware, Mr. LORING standing as sponsor, and John Marshall Phillips, of New Haven, Connecticut, Mr. NASH standing as sponsor.

And all four gentlemen were elected Members of the Society.

The chair having announced that General Sherman Miles, of Boston, was present as a guest of the Society, called on DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN, of Richmond, Virginia, who read a paper entitled "The Continuing Ordeal of George Washington in the American Revolution," this paper being part of the unpublished third volume of Mr. FREEMAN's biography of George Washington.

April Meeting, 1951

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at half-past three on the afternoon of Thursday, April 12, 1951, President ADAMS in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of March 8 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received written acceptances of Membership in the Society from the following: for Resident Membership, from CRANE BRINTON, of Cambridge, and WILLARD GOODRICH COGSWELL, of Haverhill; and for Corresponding Membership, from JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS, of New Haven, Connecticut.

The Corresponding Secretary stated that Joseph Downs, Curator of the duPont Museum, in Winterthur, Delaware, had written him to the effect that Henry Francis duPont was absent from home and would send his written acceptance of Membership immediately after his return.

The Director read the monthly report of accessions to the Cabinet and Library.

From Dr. P. J. Clune, of Ottawa, Illinois, a letter of administration issued to Benjamin Estes by Joseph Cushing, Judge of Probate in Plymouth, on April 13, 1791.

From Mrs. Allen French, of Concord, a photostat of a letter written by William Greenleaf to Captain Jonathan Buck dated at Haverhill, April 29, 1775, giving an account of the Battles of Lexington and Concord.

From the Library of Congress, a document dated May 27, 1775, containing the minutes of the town meeting of Tyringham, naming Major Giles Jackson a delegate to the Provincial Congress at Watertown.

From Mrs. Helen Irving Oehler, of Dallas, Texas, a small collection of papers relating to Dr. Charles F. Winslow, 1860–1861. Among his correspondents were John Albion Andrew, James Adams Dix, and Herman Haupt.

From Miss Harriet C. Rantoul, of Beverly Farms, a collection of legal notes made by Robert Rantoul, Jr., in the Boston Bootmakers' Case, also some printed pamphlets by him.

From Mrs. Helen Abbott Washburn, a collection of papers of the Abbott family, 1803–1883, including many letters of Josiah Gardner Abbott (1815–1891).

The Director then called the attention of the Members to the attendance at seven meetings of the Society during the past thirty-six years—since April 8, 1915, as follows:

1. Meeting after death of Charles Francis Adams, April 8, 1915	57
2. Fiftieth Anniversary of Charles William Eliot, October 11, 1923	46
3. Luncheon at residence of President William Crowninshield Endicott, January 9, 1936	45
4. One-hundred-and-fiftieth Anniversary Dinner, Algonquin Club, April 14, 1941	65
5. Two-hundredth Anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, April 8, 1943	43
6. First Annual Dinner—Club of Odd Volumes, October 5, 1950	58
7. Douglas Southall Freeman's Paper on George Washington, March 8, 1951	47

Mr. ADAMS reported that the Council had voted that ARTHUR STONE DEWING should be appointed Curator of Coins, as of May 10, 1951, with complete responsibility for the care and arrangement of the Society's collection of coins in the Coin Room, and that Mr. DEWING should have power to buy and sell coins according to his judgment and choose an assistant who should supervise with him the care of the medieval and modern coins in possession of the Society.

President ADAMS read the following tribute to GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS, Resident Member of the Society from 1921 to 1951 and Treasurer from 1928 to 1943, who died at his home in Newton Highlands on Friday, March 2, 1951.

GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS was born on May 2, 1878, in the Clarendon Hills section of what is now Hyde Park, Boston. He was the son of Friedrich Ludwig Heinrich Volkens, who was born in Bremerhaven, Germany, in 1835, and settled in Boston in 1856, when he assumed the Anglicized name of his uncle and married his first cousin. George Wolkins was named for the uncle of his mother, who appeared in Salem about 1800 as the adopted son of a shipmaster named Gregerson.

He was brought up in the Episcopal Church, to which he gave his first loyalty, but after his marriage in 1917, he joined the Society of Friends, to which his wife, Lyra Trueblood, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, belonged. Thereafter he served faithfully as an official of the Board of Missions of that remarkable sect.

Upon graduation from the Boston English High School in 1896, WOLKINS went to work with Haddock, Shonk, and Company, of Boston. He started out as an office boy, but before long he was a salesman for the firm. His most extended service in the wholesale coal business was with Hanson & Parker, 50 Congress Street, Boston, where he worked as a salesman from 1903 to 1918, and as manager from 1918 to 1943, a term of forty years—when the business was dissolved. During the First World War he was placed in charge of the distribution of soft coal for New England, under the United States Fuel Administration, headed by the late Harry Augustus Garfield (1863–1942), then president of Williams College.

Although his formal education ended with his graduation from high school in 1896, Wolkins devoted all his leisure to the reading and study of history, particularly that of New England. As a very young man he gave illustrated lectures at the Old South Historical Society and contributed essays to its publications. He became a member of the Essex Institute in 1903, and was elected to the American Antiquarian Society in 1934, to the Club of Odd Volumes in 1935, and was chosen an Associate Member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in 1937.

In February, 1921, he was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, partly as the result of the scholarly interest of his friend, Edward Stanwood, then Recording Secretary. So active was his coöperation and loyalty that seven years later he was persuaded to accept the exacting office of Treasurer. In this he served faithfully for fifteen years, after which time he remained in the Council as Second, and then First Vice-President during four years. Although he retired from active participation in the management of the Society in 1947, Wolkins came to every stated meeting, and read a paper on Lord Bryce and Theodore Roosevelt at the very last one he was destined to attend. He died on March 2, 1951.

He will long be held in grateful remembrance by his fellow members.

The Society then proceeded to vote on the persons nominated by the Council in March for Resident and Corresponding Membership, and the following were elected:

To Resident Membership: William Goodwin Renwick, of Weston, Mr. WILLIAM PHILLIPS speaking as sponsor, and Thomas James Wilson, 3rd, of Cambridge, Mr. MITCHELL speaking as sponsor.

To Corresponding Membership: Edward Chase Kirkland, of Brunswick, Maine, Mr. SHIPTON speaking as sponsor, and William Mitchell Van Winkle, of New York, Mr. JACKSON speaking as sponsor.

The President announced that as of April 12, 1951, the Membership of the Society stood as follows:

Resident Membership	107
Corresponding Membership . . .	50
Associate Membership	2
Honorary Membership	9

a grand total of 168 Members.

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL then spoke on "The Memoirs of Fleet Admiral Ernest Joseph King,"[7] sketching the character and career of Admiral King, and describing his collaboration with him in the preparation of his autobiography.

After remarks by various Members, the meeting then adjourned.

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[7] Printed in this volume, 203–226.

May Meeting, 1951

The Society met in the Dowse Library at half-past three o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, May 10, 1951, President John Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of April 12 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary stated that he had received written acceptances of Resident Membership from William Goodwin Renwick, of Weston, and Thomas James Wilson, 3rd, of Cambridge, and of Corresponding Membership from Edward Chase Kirkland, of Brunswick, Maine, and William Mitchell Van Winkle, of New York City, and a delayed acceptance of election to Corresponding Membership from Henry Francis duPont, of Winterthur, Delaware.

As of May 10, 1951, the Corresponding Secretary stated that Membership of the Society stood as follows:

Resident Members	106	(Vacancies: 19)
Corresponding Members . . .	50	(Vacancies: None)
Associate Members	2	
Honorary Members	9	(Vacancy: 1)

The Director read the monthly report of accessions to the Cabinet and to the Library.

From T. L. Chadbourne, of Vinton, Iowa, a letter from Alexander Scammell to Jonathan C. Chadbourn, dated at Durham on New Year's Day, about 1773, about making a survey of lands near Ossipee, New Hampshire.

From Goodspeed's Book Shop, a letter of Joseph Priestley to Adam Winthrop (1781–1846) dated May 23, 1826, and letters of William Hill and Philip Ammidon to James Winthrop (1752–1821) dated January 29, 1799, and May 14, 1818, respectively.

From Mrs. Margaret B. Lindenberg, of West Roxbury, a number of deeds, *etc.*, relating to the Bliss family of Wilbraham, 1766–1796.

From Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York, several autograph letters written by John Quincy Adams (1833–1894), Benjamin Franklin Butler, George William Curtis, and Grenville Mellen Dodge.

From the Misses Grace and Nellie Williams, of Greenfield, 19 letters written by Rinaldo R. Taylor to his wife, dated May 26, 1849–April 30, 1850, describing in detail his journey to California and life in the gold fields.

The Director read the tribute which he had prepared to the late Henry Adams (1875–1951), who was a Resident Member of the

Society from October 9, 1930, until his sudden death at his home in Concord, Massachusetts, on April 26, 1951, stating that he had submitted the text of his tribute to neither the President nor to the Council:

HENRY ADAMS was born in Quincy, Massachusetts, on July 17, 1875, a few minutes after his brother, John Adams, now President of the Society. He was the son of Charles Francis Adams (1835–1915), who served with distinction for twenty years (1895–1915) as our eighth President. Adams grew up in Quincy, attended Groton, and entered Harvard in 1894, taking his degree in 1898.

In February, 1899, Henry and his brother John went out to Lewiston, Idaho, where they spent several years caring for certain family property in that part of the United States. On the death of his father, in 1915, Adams returned to Boston, first making his home at Lincoln, and later at Concord, and entering the business office of his family at 84 State Street—later 15 State Street.

When the United States entered the First World War, Adams signed up for the Officers' Training Camp, at Plattsburg, New York. His hearing proved too poor, however, for a commission in the line; so he took his only chance to get overseas by joining the Quartermaster Department of the American Red Cross. Armistice Day found him stationed at Verdun with the Twenty-Sixth Division of the American Expeditionary Forces.

After the Massachusetts Division went home, Adams was sent out on relief work to the State of Kuban, in South Russia, and there he remained until March, 1920, when General Denikin's army was defeated and driven out by the revolutionists. Adams was then transferred to the Crimea, where he continued his work, until General Wrangell's counter-revolution and invasion had collapsed, in turn. He never forgot his strange experiences at watching a great state break up before his eyes, and in a new and still unheard-of way—to most men of the modern world.

In August, 1920, Adams returned to Paris, and, after traveling in France and Belgium, started home from Marseilles, in January, 1921. He took the long way round the world, going by way of Suez, India, China, Japan, and Hawaii. From Honolulu he turned south to Samoa, where he spent two months cruising among the islands of the South Seas, observing the life and customs of the Polynesians. There he made the acquaintance of Frederick O'Brien (1869–1932), of Sansalito, California, author of the popular books, *White Shadows in the South Seas* (1919), *Mystic Isles of the South Seas* (1921), and *Atolls of the Sun* (1922). He went on to New Zealand, and came back home to Boston through the Panama Canal. Landing on October 25, 1921, after an absence of more than three years, he walked up State Street, wiped the dust from his desk, and soon began to feel as if he had never been away from home.

On October 9, 1930, Henry Adams was elected a Resident Member of the Society of which his father had been the excellent, if not always amiable, autocrat for twenty years. In 1927, on the death of his uncle, Brooks Adams, he had been appointed co-trustee of the great collection of Adams Manuscripts, which were first deposited for safekeeping in our building before 1905. Once a Resident Member, Adams took over the burdensome duty of serving as custodian of these papers.

His was the task, thereafter, to handle all requests for information—to dig out the answers for those persons who were worth the time and trouble. He kept a careful record of his researches, coming up to the building five days a week, and almost without fail, until the end of his life. Adequate use of the Adams Papers became a source of almost ceaseless anxiety to him, for his keen sense of regard for his forebears wrestled day and night with his feeling of responsibility to the respectable enquiring public. If he worried much and was suspicious of some of the strange creatures cast up by the disorder of our dissolving world, he was never discourteous, and always available to those who were patient enough to win his confidence.

In 1948, when the Society acquired seventy-two unpublished letters which President John Adams wrote to his son Charles (1770–1800), Adams met most of the cost of those letters out of his own pocket. Only a few weeks before his sudden death on April 26, 1951, he gave a handsome sum to that Endowment Fund which the Society is now endeavoring to raise—in order to survive.

Henry Adams will be missed by many of our Members. Most significantly of all, perhaps, he will be missed by every member of the Staff.

The President speaking for the Treasurer, Mr. LORING, explained the necessity for appropriating the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund by vote of the Society every May and:

It was voted "That the income from the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society."

The President stated that with the advice and consent of the Council he had appointed the following Committee to prepare the Annual Ballot by September 15, 1951, for the Annual Meeting on the afternoon of Thursday, October 11, 1951: ALBERT FRANCIS BIGELOW, Chairman, CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND, and STEPHEN WHEATLAND.

The President reported that the Council had appointed Mr. WHITEHILL and Mr. DODGE a Committee of two to take care of reprinting the plates of the *Atlantic Neptune* which had been presented to the Society by the Government of the United Kingdom on February 12, 1948.

The President exhibited the charcoal portrait of JAMES FORD RHODES (1848–1927), a Resident Member of the Society from December 14, 1893, to January 22, 1927, this portrait having been executed by John Singer Sargent in 1920, delivered to M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, STEWART MITCHELL, and STEPHEN T. RILEY by Mrs. Daniel Pomeroy Rhodes, widow of the son of the historian at her home, 46 Welsh Road, Brookline, on the afternoon of May 1, 1951, the 103rd anniversary of his birth.

Mr. ADAMS then read the following tribute to JAMES FORD RHODES:

On May first, 1951, the widow of Daniel Pomeroy Rhodes turned over to Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, Senior Vice-President of this Society, the charcoal portrait which John Singer Sargent drew of her father-in-law, James Ford Rhodes, in 1920. Mrs. Rhodes made this gift to the Society on the one-hundred-and-third anniversary of the birth of the historian.

The gift is peculiarly appropriate. For many years James Ford Rhodes was a faithful servant in the Society. He was elected a Resident Member on December 14, 1893, shortly after his removal from Cleveland to Boston. After 1899, he did much of his work in our building. Always a modest man, especially in groups of people, Rhodes was persuaded to take the office of Vice-President in 1904, and to accept reëlection thereafter during eighteen years.

When Charles Francis Adams died in March, 1915, both Charles William Eliot and Abbott Lawrence Lowell, together with several other Members, tried, in writing, and in vain, to prevail upon Mr. Rhodes to succeed Mr. Adams as President of the Society. Although he patiently refused, Rhodes consented to stay on as Vice-President, fulfilling the functions of the higher office whenever Henry Cabot Lodge was absent in Washington at sessions of the Senate. Thus, much as he disliked the duties of presiding at our Meetings, he was compelled to perform them—and in spite of himself.

The huge and valuable file of the Papers of James Ford Rhodes was given to this Society by his son, also through the good offices of our Senior Vice-President, who worked with the letters in writing the biography which he published in 1929. A likeable man, and a royal host, Rhodes made firm and important friends all over the United States and Europe. With these he corresponded regularly. Many of the letters which he saved carefully are too significant to see the light of day until all of us are dust.

During these thirty-four years, this self-made scholar from Ohio, the son of a Douglas Democrat—among the first of those to expose the sectional legend as to the causes of our Civil War—served as one of the greatest Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. BIGELOW submitted to the Society a synopsis of receipts and expenses for the first quarter of the year, 1951, based on the report of the State Street Trust Company, dated March 31, 1951, according to which the Society had paid out during the quarter, $2,759.57 more than it had received. Mr. Bigelow stated that although this would seem to indicate that the deficit of the Society would mount at this rate to more than $10,000 for the year 1951, certain extraordinary and non-recurring expenses had been incurred during the first quarter which the Finance Committee and the Council would probably see fit to charge to what remained in the Building Annex Fund—$1,406.35. Mr. Bigelow added that the shift of investments and the increased dividends on stocks had raised the income of the Society considerably during 1950 and that so far as the Finance Committee could see, it was likely that increases to the income would continue during 1951.

Claude Moore Fuess read a paper entitled "Congressional Immunity and Privilege,"[8] a very interesting historical study of the constitutional protection afforded to members of the House of Representatives and Senate from legal responsibility for statements made on the floor of the Congress, tracing the origins of this special immunity and privilege through the growth of parliamentary government in England, and dwelling on the fear of law-makers of encroachment by the executive power. Mr. Fuess began by calling attention to the infamous reference by Senator William Ezra Jenner, of Indiana, to Secretary of Defense George Catlett Marshall as "a living lie"—and dwelt briefly on the amazing libels uttered against defenseless citizens of the United States by Joseph Raymond McCarthy, senator from Wisconsin, calling attention to the fact that certain breaches of decency on the part of members of the Congress in the past had resulted in acts of personal violence, both in public and on the floor of each House. Mr. Fuess suggested that the fear of executive encroachment on the Congress had survived the actual danger of any such encroachment, and quoted Theodore Roosevelt's low opinion of the Senate in the use of its power to ratify or refuse to ratify treaties made by the President.

When Mr. Fuess had concluded, Mr. Chafee and Mr. Grinnell commented on his paper with interesting remarks, elaborating on the damage which members of the House and Senate were doing to the reputation of the Congress in the eyes of the public. Mr. Chafee suggested that it would be wise for the Senate to fine Senator McCarthy $30,000 with which to pay damages to those citizens whom he had vilified, and it was the consensus that each House of Congress would do well to discipline its own members diligently lest at some future date a strong executive might impose less proper correction from outside.

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[8] Printed in this volume, 148–157.

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1951

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on the afternoon of Thursday, October 11, 1951, at half-past three o'clock, President ADAMS in the chair.

The record of the meeting for May 10 was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From John S. Codman, of Boston, a letter from Grover Cleveland to CHARLES R. CODMAN dated at Washington, July 17, 1894, offering to consider Archibald H. Grimke for the post of consul to Santo Domingo.

From CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS, a letter from Charles Dickens to WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT dated at London, July 1, 1842, and a letter from PRESCOTT to Mrs. Thomas G. Cary dated at Bedford, November 9, 1842, presenting her with the Dickens letter.

From Mrs. William Crowninshield Endicott, of Boston, seven letters written by Thomas Wren Ward, 1901–1918, and a small collection of papers relating to the life of Governor John Endecott.

From Henry Barrett Huntington, of Providence, Rhode Island, a volume of letters to be added to the John Osborn Sargent collection.

From GEORGE TALBOT GOODSPEED, a volume by Thomas à Kempis, *The Christian's Pattern, or A Divine Treatise of the Imitation of Christ* ([London], 1669), with the autograph of Simon Bradstreet (1640–1683).

From Lillian M. Kelley, of Eau Claire, Wisconsin, seven warrants granting bounty land to Massachusetts soldiers of the War of 1812, dated 1854–1860.

From Dr. Margaret Long, of Denver, Colorado, twenty-five manuscript volumes of the Journal of JOHN DAVIS LONG, 1848–1915, a manuscript volume of notes for lectures and speeches, and two manuscript volumes of his play called "Little Marie," written for Maggie Mitchell, produced in Boston, and copyrighted in 1874.

From Walter G. Maxon, of Providence, Rhode Island, a document dated August 17, 1790, remitting the fine of Michael Wriley, signed by John Hancock; an account book of the Blackstone Manufacturing Company, 1813–1856, and a letter from Sylvanus Thomas to Jedidiah Holmes, dated at Winthrop, November 20, 1809, about the trial of eight persons for the murder of Paul Chadwick.

From Mrs. T. Jefferson Newbold, of Boston, some rare volumes of the Society's publications.

From Nathan Rice, of Worcester, a collection of deeds relating to Hingham and vicinity, 1740–1822.

By purchase: Thomas Hooker, *The Danger of Desertion . . .* (London, 1641); Jasper Mauduit, *The Legislative Authority of the British Parliament with respect to North America . . .* (London, 1766); Cotton Mather, *Some Seasonable Enquiries . . .* ([Boston], 1723); and a broadside *A particular Account of the most barbarous and Horrid Massacre!* (Boston, 1770).

William Henry Claflin, Jr., of Belmont, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. MITCHELL reading a letter of endorsement from Mr. SHATTUCK, who was unavoidably absent.

Richard Walden Hale, Jr., of Chestnut Hill, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. GRINNELL speaking as sponsor.

John Silsbee Lawrence, of Manchester, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. ADAMS speaking as sponsor.

Mr. ADAMS announced the death at Pride's Crossing on October 1, 1951, of AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., who was elected a Resident Member of the Society on May 13, 1937, and served as Treasurer of the Society from 1943 to 1951.

Mr. ADAMS reported that in June, 1951, JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS added $500 to the James Duncan Phillips Fund, making the total of that Fund $2,000.

The Society then turned to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. BIGELOW, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, submitted the report for himself and his colleagues, CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND and STEPHEN WHEATLAND. A ballot being taken, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President
JOHN ADAMS

Vice-Presidents
MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE
ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer
ALLAN FORBES

Cabinet-Keeper
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

New Members-at-Large of the Council
1951–1954
JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS
LEE MAX FRIEDMAN

Continuing Members-at-Large of the Council
1949–1952
HAROLD BOWDITCH
ERNEST STANLEY DODGE

1950–1953
PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE
ROBERT EARLE MOODY

Because of the unavoidable absence of ALLAN FORBES, Mr. ADAMS presented the Annual Report for the Acting Treasurer, stating that the Society had received during the past fiscal year $10,628.00 more than during the preceding year.

The Director presented the Annual Report of the Council, and Mr. WHITEHILL and Mr. RILEY presented their Annual Reports for the Cabinet and the Library, Mr. WHITEHILL calling particular attention to a silver punch strainer presented to the Society in June, 1951, by Miss Louisa Loring Dresel, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. This strainer was made for John Vryling in 1741 from Spanish bullion captured at the siege of Carthagena and is one of the three known examples of the silver work of William Breed.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THIS year in presenting the Annual Report of the Council, the Director is departing from the practice of the past. Hitherto, only two reports have been submitted to the Society at its Annual Meeting—the report of the Council and the Treasurer. This year there are three, for the Director has asked both the Cabinet-Keeper and the Librarian to submit their own surveys of the past year.

We have had a busy and, on the whole, a successful twelve months. During that time approximately 1,500 persons have made use of our Library, which is now a national institute for research. These students come from all over the country and they must be waited on by your small and faithful staff. If rumor can be believed, the reputation of the Society in this respect is excellent for efficiency and, what is far more important, for courtesy. There is no reason to fear any falling off.

Just as the two key committees of this organization are those of Finance and Membership, so the real strength of the Society depends on the interest of its Resident Members—the willingness to attend meetings and to contribute papers which will not only enliven those meetings but illuminate the pages of our *Proceedings*. The record of attendance has been good, partly owing to the innovation of the Annual Dinner, for which your Director had to plead for years, and partly to the stellar appearance in March of our Corresponding Member, DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN. The attendance of 47 at that meeting was the largest since 57 turned out April 8, 1915, in honor of President Charles Francis Adams. Not counting those who came to the Annual Dinner—there were 58 in all—an average of 32 Members attended the eight stated meetings of the past year. About twenty years ago, some of you may remember, attendance fell off so badly that it was frequently impossible to get a quorum of twenty.

For the Annual Dinner which will be held at the Club of Odd Volumes this evening, 160 invitations were sent out. The Director has received replies from 130 persons and 51 Members have promised to be present. Senator LODGE is going to get here, wind and weather and the Congress permitting. Mr. WHITEHILL has kindly consented to serve as master of ceremonies, or first assistant to the President—the praise or blame for what you get to eat and drink is his—and his alone.

During the past year the Society has elected nine Resident Members: George Talbot Goodspeed, Michael Joseph Walsh, Mark Bortman, Charles Pelham Curtis, Stephen Wheatland, Crane Brinton, Willard Goodrich Cogswell, William Goodwin Renwick, and Thomas James Wilson, 3rd, and four Corresponding Members: Henry Francis du Pont, John Marshall Phillips, Edward Chase Kirkland, and William Mitchell Van Winkle. Today we have added three new Resident Members: William Henry Claflin, Jr., Richard Walden Hale, Jr., and John Silsbee Lawrence—a grand total of 16.

During the past year the Society has lost six Resident Members and one Corresponding Member: Henry Adams, George Russell Agassiz, Samuel Atkins Eliot, Charles Eliot Goodspeed, Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., George Gregerson Wolkins, and Randolph Greenfield Adams.

Henry Adams—elected a Resident Member on October 9, 1930, died on April 26, 1951. During twenty years he served the Society as Custodian of the Adams Papers on deposit in this building and gave freely of his time and money for the service of this Society.

George Russell Agassiz—elected a Corresponding Member on March 13, 1919, and transferred to Resident Membership on May 14, 1936, died on February 5, 1951. Although Mr. Agassiz could hardly be called an active Member, he edited one of the best of our Special Publications, that series of letters of the Civil War which he called *Meade's Headquarters*.

Samuel Atkins Eliot—elected a Resident Member on April 13, 1933, died on October 15, 1950. Mr. Eliot was a faithful and good-natured attendant at our meetings, read papers, and when he got up to speak, always had something interesting to say.

Charles Eliot Goodspeed—elected a Resident Member on December 8, 1938, and died October 30, 1950. Long before he became a Member, Mr. Goodspeed had served this Society with constant good will, in finding books and manuscripts for our Library which he always gave us the first chance to buy. His service as Chairman of the Library Committee terminated with his successful descent into the basement of this building, out of which he persuaded the Council to remove many precious books to the Special Libraries Room.

Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr.—elected a Resident Member on

May 13, 1937, died on October 1, 1951. In 1943, and quite against his own will, Mr. Loring took over the ungrateful office of Treasurer of this Society, and in very difficult circumstances. He had to hold that office for eight years because only one Resident Member of this Society was willing to relieve him of his burden. Although he worried over what is called "Deficit Financing," Mr. Loring seldom lost his temper or sense of humor.

George Gregerson Wolkins—elected a Resident Member on February 10, 1921, died on March 2, 1951. During thirty years Mr. Wolkins was a faithful attendant at our meetings and during fifteen years, from 1928 to 1943, he served as our Treasurer. Those were not easy years, and George Wolkins was meticulous in the true sense of that strange word. From 1943 to 1947 he served as Vice-President and then four years ago retired from the Council of the Society.

Randolph Greenfield Adams—elected a Corresponding Member on February 13, 1936, and died on January 4, 1951. The remoteness of his residence in Michigan prevented Mr. Adams from being more than a titular Member—he never attended a meeting, but he showed his good will in giving both Mr. Forbes and me assistance and advice.

Counting the three additions of today, we have now in the Society 108 Resident Members, 49 Corresponding Members, 2 Associate Members, and 9 Honorary Members.

Now, as to our publications. The annual volume of the *House Journals* has appeared in due course, reproduced for the first time by photography at a saving of $400.00. The question of the possibility of continuing this work during the next thirty years is under careful consideration by the Council. The income of the W. B. H. Dowse Fund, about $1,500.00, together with the $750.00 grant from the Commonwealth is no longer sufficient to meet the expenses of reproducing these *Journals*. At present prices and wages, the Society stands to lose at least $30,000.00 on this work during the next thirty years —unless a committee of the Council can persuade the General Court to pay more than $2.50 each for the three hundred volumes which it buys for the state libraries. The latest volume, XXVI, cost $6.50 a copy to make. If we cannot go on, then the W. B. H. Dowse Fund of $25,000.00 given to the Society expressly for this work, must be returned to the heirs of Mr. Dowse.

Your Sibley Editor, Clifford Kenyon Shipton, has practically completed the work of seeing the eighth volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* through the press. That volume ought to be in your hands early in 1952. You will remember, of course, that the work of writing and printing these volumes is the first charge, according to the will of J. L. Sibley, on the income of his Fund—the largest single fund in our Endowment. One-fourth of the annual income of that Fund, however, must be added to the capital until 2002. At that time, it has been estimated, the J. L. Sibley Fund will amount to $500,000.00.

Proceedings 68, containing all available papers read from October, 1944, through May, 1947, is now in the press and is being indexed. This work is the first duty of your Director in his capacity as Editor. *Proceedings* 68 will contain eighteen papers and ten memoirs. Your Editor begs to remind the Society that he cannot print memoirs of dead Members unless living Members not only promise to write them—but do write them. Yet nowadays the valuable memoirs which appear in our *Proceedings* are those which deal with Members who might not be written about elsewhere. But even in this respect, we have fallen far behind. Volume 69 of the *Proceedings* will contain all available papers for the three years from October, 1947, through May, 1950.

Once *Proceedings* 68 has appeared, your Editor must turn to completing the sixth volume of *The Winthrop Papers*. This volume is in typescript, but the checking and correction of it have not been completed. You will all remember that the complete cost of every volume of *The Winthrop Papers* is met by the income from the two Winthrop Funds, a capital sum of $40,000.00, and the annual donations from Robert Winthrop, of New York, and Frederic Winthrop, of Hamilton. Our publications, it should be repeated, do not add one dollar to the deficit of this Society.

And what was that deficit for the year 1950–1951? After two hours with a representative of our accountant, the Director was told that, according to the rules of bookkeeping, it amounted to $3,473.83. But facts and figures need interpretation. Against this deficit there was, on September 14, 1951, an income balance in the J. L. Sibley Fund of approximately $20,000.00. At the risk of giving offense, the Director believes that the annual deficit was not so much a matter of fact as appearance. Where we actually run behind is in meeting general expenses: salaries, wages, and maintenance. It costs about $2,500.00 merely to heat this building during seven months of every year. Apart from the regular expenses of maintaining our headquarters, the Council has had to make an unexpected outlay. It was known that sooner or later we should have to change our electric system from direct to alternating current, but the proper service of the air conditioning units on the third and fourth floors required that the work should be done at once. The fact that the old direct current had to be kept to run the elevator was a complication. After careful consideration, your House Committee made the best bargain possible, and alternating current was installed at the cost of $1,236.00.

In March, moreover, on the advice of the Treasurer, the Council voted to increase the insurance on the building from $342,000.00 to $416,000.00, an increase of $74,000.00. This represents approximately eighty per cent of the value of the building, which is appraised at $500,000.00. If you add up all the annual bills, you will find that it costs the Society $7,000.00 a year merely to maintain its home—and out of the income from a capital of slightly more than $1,000,000.00. During 1950 the Society received almost $50,000.00, but $9,000.00 of those dollars had to be put into capital.

Last autumn the Council decided to make an appeal for additions to our Endowment Fund, both to our Members and to the public. Acting with the advice and consent of the Council, the Director drew up two forms. Of the Appeal to the Public, 5,000 copies were printed and about 1,000 of these have already gone into the mails to a very carefully selected list of possible donors. We have received, to date, approximately $19,000.00, $18,000.00 of which will go into the Endowment Fund. FREDERIC, NATHANIEL, and ROBERT WINTHROP sent us $1,000.00 with the express proviso that it should be put into the cash balance of the Society and used for current expenses. They have promised to make this gift an annual contribution from the income of the Sarah T. Winthrop Memorial Fund, in New York City. As of this date, the total of wages and salaries and the one continuing pension of Mr. FORD's editorial assistant, adds up to $26,820.00, which is $3,000.00 *less* than the total of ten years ago.

In speaking of additions to our Endowment, I must not forget to mention the fact that in November, 1950, JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS added $1,000.00 to the James Duncan Phillips Fund, which he established in 1944. This fund now amounts to $1,500.00, and most of the income of it is available for general expenses. After the sudden death of Henry Adams, the Treasurer of the Society drew $2,500.00 from the J. L. Sibley Fund income in order to make the fourth and final payment to Horatio Seymour, of Santa Monica, California, for the great collection of letters which President John Adams wrote to his son Charles (1770–1800). Mr. Henry Adams took out of the Adams Papers on deposit in this Society, the answers which Charles wrote his father. He had them copied at this own expense, and turned the copies over to the Director for use as a Special Publication of this Society. The sooner this volume is published the better, but there is simply no time for editing it now. Possibly some interested Member of the Society will take it over. The letters are learned and crammed with quotations from more or less obscure sources and it will take a lot of drudgery properly to prepare them for printing. There they are, 114 letters in all, ready for someone to take on a labor of love.

Even a Director who must pay more attention to bank notes than footnotes cannot take leave of a report on our publications without paying his grateful respects to the Committee of Publication—Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Samuel Eliot Morison, Clifford Kenyon Shipton, Walter Muir Whitehill, and Robert Earle Moody. This Committee is a tower of strength. Its precision at reading proof is without parallel in my experience, its patience and its promptness are beyond praise. And to that tower the Director can always discreetly retire whenever he gets into trouble with someone on subjects of scholarship, or worse still, over questions of style.

During the past year the Director has spent much of what he can hardly call his spare time, cleaning out the correspondence files of the Society. Good executives ought to do this work once a year, but not all of them can get around to it. It takes patience and a lot of time, for every letter has to be read to sort the grain from the chaff. The ultimate value of this thankless toil is to be able to find what you want to find, and find it quickly. The first task was to clear out the casual correspondence of the late Samuel Abbott Green. This extended over almost half a century. Next came thirty years of Julius Herbert Tuttle. Next in order came a carton of what might be called "The Burnett Papers"—a jumble of carbon copies left behind her by Elizabeth L. Burnett, the editorial assistant of Mr. Ford. Last, but not least, came the file of George Gregerson Wolkins, Treasurer of this Society for fifteen years. The immense mass of twenty years of Mr. Ford's correspondence has yet to be tackled.

According to my estimate, about nine letters out of every ten were utterly worthless, and as such were destroyed, but the tenth part that remains contains much material of great interest—the business records of this Society since about 1890. Much is to be learned from this record—above all, how not to do some things and how to do others. From the files of the Treasurer, for instance, certain contingent legacies turned up, the existence of which nobody seemed aware. Yet even these eventual legacies cannot serve to dispel anxiety for the financial future of this Society. That future is neither clear nor even bright. We must accumulate more capital for income out of which to meet our general expenses: wages, salaries, and cost of keeping our building. In the meantime, the continuing and disastrous decline in the buying power of the dollar makes any calculation for the days ahead merely wasted worry.

Many years ago—too many now to remember with pleasure—a student at Harvard heard a Professor of Philosophy, lecturing in his course on Ethics, quote Samuel Butler, Bishop of Lichfield. He committed the quotation to memory: "Things and actions are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be; why then should we desire to be deceived?"

Stewart Mitchell
Director

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

DURING the past year the most important work undertaken by the Cabinet-Keeper of this Society has been the photographing by George M. Cushing, Jr., of every portrait and picture in the possession of this Society of which there were no good negatives available. These negatives have been left in the office of Mr. Cushing and one set of positives has been placed in the office of the Director of the Athenæum. A second set of positives is on file here in the building of the Society. The cost of this work, approximately $250.00, was met out of the income of the George Peabody Fund, established in 1867, the principal of which Fund now amounts to $22,000.00, and the annual income to approximately $1,300.00. One of the chief purposes of the gift was the preservation of the Society's historical portraits. At some future date the Cabinet-Keeper hopes to publish a catalog of all the paintings, portraits, and busts in the Museum of the Society. None has appeared since 1885, and many of our possessions are of great interest and value.

In connection with this work, the Council sent three important objects to the Museum of Fine Arts for cleaning and repair—John Smibert's portrait of Bishop Berkeley, now hanging in the Director's Office, a copy of Paul Revere's "Boston Massacre," and Christian Remick's "Perspective View of the Blockade of Boston Harbor" (1768). A reproduction of the Shattuck copy of the latter, as published by the Meriden Gravure Company and framed by Goodspeed's Book Shop, was presented to the Cabinet during the past year as a gift from a Resident Member. This will be found hanging over the door leading into the Museum, immediately beneath this room. Also, during the spring, Thomas Johnston's "Map of the Kennebec" (Boston, 1754), one of two copies in existence, was sent over to the Museum for cleaning and remounting, the old frame being preserved and glass being put over the map which had hung unprotected in this building for years.

The striking portrait of Captain Isaac Collins, who fought in the Revolution, was taken out of the attic and sent down to the Childs Gallery to be cleaned and fastened firmly in its frame. Cleaning revealed the initials "J. B." and the date 1796. This portrait was given to the Society in 1862 by Nathaniel Willis (1780–1870), nephew of Captain Collins and father of Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806–1867). A reasonable guess is that it was painted by John Brewster who flourished in Boston about 1800, and was deaf and dumb.

Both the Society's unique copy of the "Burgis View of Harvard College" (1726) and Christian Remick's "Perspective View of the Blockade of Boston Harbor" (1768) were lent to the Corcoran Gallery in Washington for a space of six months during the winter and have been safely returned to the building. The Shem Drowne Indian weather vane from the Province House, which the Council lent to the Brooklyn Museum last year, was sent on loan to Denver, safely insured. On its way back to Boston, it was badly damaged and had to be turned over to Gebelein, of Chestnut Street, for repair. The cost of this work was promptly met by the Denver Art Museum, and the Council has wisely decided that the Indian had better not leave the building again.

Another loan, for the sake of good will, was the sending of the John Smibert portrait of Peter Faneuil and his cellaret and our famous portrait of Lafayette in his Continental uniform painted by Joseph Boze for Thomas Jefferson, out to the Detroit Institute of Art for a period of six months for display in an exhibition called "The French in America." All three are safely back in the building. Still another loan was made to Harvard University during the past year—the Society's famous eighteenth-century portrait of Anne Pollard. In addition, the Society lent certain Lafayette material in the Cabinet for display at the Roxbury Institution of Savings, and eight Paul Revere pieces to William Filene's Sons Company for a salute to the new *Constitution.*

New awnings have been placed at the three windows of the Museum, and the beautiful eighteenth-century Taylor mantel clock, over the fireplace in the Museum, has been restored and repaired at the cost of $200.00, as a gift from a Resident Member. Several of the finer portraits have been brought down from the storage racks and hung where they can be seen—among these, a duplicate of the President Charles Chauncy at Harvard and Copley's second earliest work known to exist, his portrait of the Reverend William Welsteed, which he is said to have painted at the age of fifteen.

Out of the lumber from the huge bookcases formerly in the Director's Office, which were dismantled by the order of the Council, two exhibition cases were built for the Dowse Library, and two oak pedestals for the eighteenth-century garden statues which were once on the Brooks estate, and became the property of Elizabeth Brooks, the wife of Edmund March Wheelwright, architect of this building. At the death of Mrs. Wheelwright, her daughter, Louise (Wheelwright) Damon, gave these two statues to the Society in memory of her mother. At least they are placed where they show to advantage.

In June, Miss Louisa Loring Dresel, of Cambridge, presented the Society with portraits of her grandparents, Ellis Gray Loring and Louisa (Gilman) Loring, and also with a silver punch strainer made for one John Vryling, who served with Admiral Vernon in 1741, from Spanish silver captured at Carthagena. The last two words of a famous line from the Aeneid adorn this strainer: "*Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.*"

At the meeting of the Council on May 10, 1951, ARTHUR STONE DEWING was appointed Curator of Coins for the magnificent collection in the possession of this Society. Mr. DEWING plans a revision of the catalogue left by the late MALCOLM STORER and is carefully considering a rearrangement of some of the collection. Many of our fine American coins will be lent to the State Street Trust Company for exhibition in Boston during 1952 in celebration of the Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the minting of the Pine Tree Shilling. Moreover, during the summer as a gift from Kenneth H. Baker, of Attleboro, Massachusetts, the Society received a large collection, filling about fifteen trays, of medals struck at the time of the celebration of the Tercentenary of Massachusetts Bay in 1930.

Acting with the advice and consent of the Council, the Cabinet-Keeper and Mr. ERNEST S. DODGE are planning to print a small edition of the sixteen *Atlantic Neptune* plates which were presented to the Society by the British Government on February 12, 1948. These reprints will be sold by subscription.

Chief among the acquisitions during the year is the Sargent charcoal portrait of the late JAMES FORD RHODES, for many years a Resident Member of the Society, the gift through the good offices of M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, from the widow of Daniel Pomeroy Rhodes, son of the historian. Mrs. Rhodes made the gift as of May 1, 1951, the one-hundred-and-third anniversary of the birth of her father-in-law. The Society received also a portrait of GEORGE DEXTER, a Resident Member of the Society for fifteen years, as a gift of Mary Dean Dexter, of Cambridge.

The Cabinet-Keeper is happy to conclude his Annual Report on a note of peace and reconciliation. In November, 1950, the Director submitted to the Council a telegram from Governor James E. Folsom, of Alabama, asking for the return of a fragment of the first Confederate flag flown over the first Confederate capitol in Montgomery in 1861—this fragment having been presented to the Society by William C. Todd, in 1866. After viewing this minute piece of cloth (the size approximately of a silver dollar) the Council voted to surrender to the imperious Governor of Alabama, thus averting, in effect, what might easily have become a second Civil War.

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL
Cabinet-Keeper

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

FOR a hundred and sixty years the Massachusetts Historical Society has endeavored to further the study of American history by its publications and by making available its source materials. In keeping with this tradition, this past year we welcomed to the Library approximately 1,500 research workers from various parts of the country. Some were with us a few days; others, several months. They were careful and considerate in their use of our books and manuscripts, and it was pleasant having them here. More often than not they repaid our assistance with information about our own holdings which their specialized study had revealed.

In addition to answering questions over the telephone, we faithfully answered all written requests for aid, also. As all librarians know, such requests can be very intelligent and rewarding—or not so intelligent and very amusing. Last week a Corresponding Member wrote for information about the provenance of his copy of Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, which bore the autograph of Edmund Randolph. We were able to find in our Jefferson Papers some rather conclusive evidence that Jefferson presented it to Randolph. But the search that was started by this enquiry also revealed that we had most of the rarer editions of this book, and, best of all, Jefferson's original manuscript. This week a letter was received from a gentleman in Casablanca who wished to know "The menu of the first Thanksgiving dinner and the hour at which served." We had one variant among the requests for the name of Paul Revere's horse. One youngster wrote that his grandfather had promised him a bicycle if he could tell him the name. To the best of my knowledge, no one has been able to discover it, but we suggested one that I hope won the bicycle.

Besides taking care of our visitors, the staff of the Library has been busy with a number of necessary jobs. About 1,800 new accessions[9]

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[9] Complete figures for accessions during the year 1950–1951 are as follows:

Books	461
Pamphlets	171
Periodicals	612
Broadsides	85
Newspapers	522
Map	1
	1,852

of printed material have been catalogued and much work done in recataloguing certain pamphlet groups. The Assistant Librarian has made great progress in overhauling and cataloguing our newspaper collection, and the business of repairing and rebinding manuscripts goes on endlessly. We have tried to do our part in the various bibliographical projects under way, and we continue to be helpful to Princeton University in its task of publishing the Thomas Jefferson Papers.

Because the Photostat Department has not been in operation since 1942, the Librarian was authorized by the Council to dispose of the machines. They were sold to the Boston Public Library and part of the proceeds was used to purchase a microfilm-reading machine, which has been most useful.

One of the chief aims of this library is to collect all books and pamphlets printed in, or relating to, Massachusetts before 1820. During the past year many of our accessions have fallen into this category, and the more important ones have been listed in the monthly reports. Since our last meeting we have acquired several items worthy of mention. Thomas Hooker, the founder of Hartford, before fleeing to Holland, preached a sermon which was printed some years later under the title: *The Danger of Desertion: or A Farvvell Sermon of Mr. Thomas Hooker* ... (London, 1641). The copy owned by the Society was very imperfect and this past summer we managed to buy a handsome copy in London. Since it would be a poor year if we could not list at least one new Cotton Mather item, it is altogether fitting that we report the purchase of a fine, uncut copy of his *Some Seasonable Enquiries* (Boston, 1723).

A volume that has made several hearts beat a little faster came to us as a gift from GEORGE GOODSPEED—and there is no sweeter word than "gift" to a Librarian with a small book fund. It is *The Christian Pattern, or A Divine Treatise of the Imitation of Christ. Written . . . by Thomas of Kempis* ... ([London], 1669). On the flyleaf of this volume appears the autograph of Simon Bradstreet (1640–1683), with the date 1669. Now it is well known that the Cambridge Press started to bring out a New England edition of this work in 1669, but the General Court stopped it when it was discovered that the book was written by a Roman Catholic prelate. Since no other copy of this London edition is listed in the United States, we should like to think that this is the very copy from which Samuel Green or Marmaduke Johnson worked when the aborted Cambridge edition was being set up.

In 1916 CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN presented to the Society a collection of papers written to Jasper Mauduit, the Massachusetts agent in London from 1762–1765. These papers were printed in 1918 as Volume 74 of our *Collections*. One of the few printed pieces recorded as being by Mauduit appeared in 1766. It was a defense of the supremacy of the British Parliament, and was entitled *The Legislative Authority of the British Parliament, with respect to North America, and the Privileges of the Assemblies there, briefly considered* (London, 1766). In June we managed to secure one of the four copies recorded as being in the United States.

There has been a steady strengthening of our manuscript holdings, and our claim to have the greatest collection of historical manuscripts in New England cannot be seriously challenged. They are now properly stored in an air-conditioned stack, and the unbound manuscripts are being carefully arranged and placed in the type of box used in the National Archives. The major acquisitions have been reported at the monthly meetings, but brief mention might be made of two of them.

Perhaps the most important lot to come to us this past year is the collection of JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR., given by Miss Charlotte Morse, of Needham. It contains letters written by practically all the prominent American historians of his time, and a great number of letters by MORSE himself. He was a fascinating letter-writer, and I hope that some day the Society will see fit to publish a volume of his letters. The following comment on Justice OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES may be of interest to you. It is found in a letter from MORSE to Thomas Sergeant Perry, dated at Pride's Crossing [September 6, 1915]:

> Yest. I took Mr. Justice Holmes to drive. In a certain way, I found it entertaining, he is so unlike any one else whom I ever see, with such very unusual tastes and ways. He talked unceasingly, and was sufficiently clever and interesting. Yet I could not help being struck with the fact that he is a man who lives wholly upon and among *words*. Of course his words convey a certain kind of ideas; but they are ideas which have no substance or value beyond that of being merely expressed. They are ideas which concern themselves with no reality in life; when they have once struggled into intelligible utterance, they have fulfilled the whole function and end of their existence. They *mean* nothing and do no good in any possible way to mankind. I can't see much value or contentment in

such thinking and talking. Doubtless it is purely intellectual,—so purely as to be nothing else. I perhaps malevolently tho't that I should like to see how ingeniously he would Evade taking any side concerning the present somewhat interesting goings-on in Europe, and tentatively skirmished in the direction. I think he has heard of the war, but so he has of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes; and I doubt whether he cares much more for the one than for the other. He and I certainly make odd kindred. He cares no more for concrete facts than for the moon; whereas I fear that I care for little else. Blessed are the varieties in human nature! They diminish the monotonies of existence;—but Wendell and I would have a poor time of it, if we were shipwrecked together on a desert island.

The Rinaldo R. Taylor papers given by the Misses Grace and Nellie Williams, of Greenfield, are also worthy of note. Taylor was one of the many Argonauts from Massachusetts who went to California in 1849 to make his fortune. A keen observer possessed of the ability to write, he has preserved for us in nineteen letters to his wife a most interesting record of his voyage to California and life there. The following description of a Sunday morning in San Francisco, contained in a letter dated December 30, 1849, is a fair sample of his reporting:

. . . I found San Francisco quite another place from what I left nearly four months before. Thousands of buildings had been erected, and the city had spread itself out upon the neighboring hills, where all was a barren waste when I left. It is now a "*great place*," such a one as the world never produced before. Crowded with people from all parts of the world, the Yankee and the Chinaman jostling each other in the streets, while French, Germans, Sandwich Islanders, Chillians, Maylays, Mexicans, *etc. etc.*, in all their varieties of costume and language go to form a "conglomeration" of humanity, such as the world never saw before. The public square and principal streets are lined with gambling houses fitted up in the most costly style and presenting every allurement to dazzle the eye and charm the ear, which the ingenuity of man can devise. These places are thronged day and night and men win and lose their thousands as cooly as they take their dinners. I could not help thinking to-day (*Sunday*) what our staid New Englanders would think could they have stood with me, about the time of chuh [church] opening at home, in the door of one of these places in the most public street in the city, and cast their eyes over the scene. An orchestra consisting of fiddles flutes trumpets *etc.* playing dancing tunes with all their might, the bar surrounded with thirsty gents pouring down gin-cocktails, whiskey punches, *etc. etc.* the noise of the toddy-sticks allmost drowning the fiddles;—monte-banks, roulette tables, faro banks *etc.* with their piles of gold and silver standing in rows around the room, the gamblers smoking their segars and shuffling their cards with the utmost nonchalance, while the motley crowd which surrounded them were planking their doubloons and watching with eager interest the turning of the cards;—the walls lined with paintings illustrating the beauties of the female form, and the atmosphere thick with the fumes of tobacco. All this made up a scene which contrasted with the employments incidental to the same hour in a New England town would have made the eyes of an unsophisticated individual from the latter place hang out. Verily "this is a great country," and must be fenced in.

In June we received as a gift from Dr. Margaret Long, of Denver, Colorado, twenty-five manuscript volumes of the Journal of John Davis Long, 1848–1915, and three manuscript volumes on other subjects. The Society already possesses the great collection of Long correspondence, and published a selection from it as Volume 78 of our *Collections*. This handsome gift now rounds out our holdings of the papers of a former Member.

The Library has had a good year, largely due to the friendly interest of both Members and non-members. It is our hope that this interest will continue to manifest itself. We urge your coöperation in securing for the Library the books and manuscripts that properly belong here.

Stephen T. Riley
Librarian

The Society adjourned at five o'clock and met for the second Annual Dinner at the Club of Odd Voumes, 77 Mount Vernon Street, at seven o'clock, Senator Lodge being unavoidably detained in Washington, because, as he wrote, "the Senate was taking ten months to do the work of three and [was] still . . . in session in the middle of October."

After the dinner various Members spoke informally at the invitation of the President.

November Meeting, 1951

The Society met in the Dowse Library on the afternoon of Thursday, November 8, 1951, at half-past three o'clock, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of October 11 and of the Annual Dinner held at the Club of Odd Volumes the evening of the same day, were read and approved.

The Recording Secretary, speaking for Mr. Wolcott, who was unavoidably absent, announced that the Corresponding Secretary had received acceptances of Resident Membership from William Henry Claflin, Jr., of Belmont, Richard Walden Hale, Jr., of Chestnut Hill, and John Silsbee Lawrence, of Manchester.

Speaking for the Finance Committee, Mr. Bigelow presented a report on the receipts and expenses of the Society for the first nine months of the calendar year of 1951.

The President announced the death of the Senior Corresponding Member of the Society, Rafael Altamira y Crevea, who was elected in 1908 and died on June 1, 1951, in Mexico City where he had lived as a refugee from his native country, Spain, since the Civil War of 1936, and of Edwin Merrick Dodd, Jr., who was elected a Resident Member on November 9, 1944, and died suddenly by accident on the night of Saturday, November 3, 1951, near Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

The President read the list of the standing committees of the Society for 1951–1952 as follows:

Finance: John Adams, *Chairman ex officio*; Albert Francis Bigelow, James Melville Hunnewell, and Ralph Lowell.

House: Parkman Dexter Howe, *Chairman*; Chauncey Cushing Nash, and Carleton Rubira Richmond.

Library: Lee Max Friedman, *Chairman*; Henry Latimer Seaver, and Vernon Dale Tate.

Meetings: Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, *Chairman*; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and William Alexander Jackson.

Membership: John Adams, *Chairman*; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Chauncey Cushing Nash, Walter Muir Whitehill, and Stewart Mitchell.

Publication: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *Chairman*; Samuel Eliot Morison, Clifford Kenyon Shipton, Walter Muir Whitehill, Robert Earle Moody, and Stewart Mitchell.

The President reported that gifts to the Endowment Fund to date amounted to $16,000.00, and that the Council had asked the Director to prepare the text of a second appeal to all Resident and Corresponding Members to be signed by himself and Allan Forbes, after the President and Treasurer had revised the text of the appeal. The President announced that the Society had received a fourth gift of $500 from James Duncan Phillips, of Topsfield, this gift to be added to the James Duncan Phillips Fund, the capital of which now amounts to $2,500.00.

The Director submitted his monthly report for the Cabinet-Keeper and the Librarian, announcing the following acquisitions:

From ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., a photostat of an extract from the log of the British sloop of war *Allegiance*, concerning the capture of Daniel Sullivan at Frenchman's Bay, Maine, on February 25, 1781.

From CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, a small collection of books written by John Warner Barber (1798–1885).

By purchase: Zadock Steele, *The Indian Captive* . . . (Montpelier, Vermont, 1818).

By deposit: From the Honorable HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr., of Beverly, four letters written by his grandfather to Brooks Adams in the years 1912 and 1918.

The Director also called the attention of the Members for a second time to the silver punch strainer made in 1741 for John Vryling, received as a gift from Miss Louisa Loring Dresel, of Cambridge, in June, 1951.

The Director reported that the total of voluntary contributions to the cost of the second Annual Dinner, at which fifty-one Members were present, had exceeded the expenses by the sum of $35.13, and that the Council had directed him not to return this sum *pro rata* to the donors, but to save it toward the cost of the third Annual Dinner which would be held at the Club of Odd Volumes on Thursday, October 9, 1952.

The Librarian submitted two interesting broadsides which he had recently found in the manuscript collections of the Society, one on inoculation and the other on the proper method of rescue from drowning.

CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS read a paper entitled "Learning and Liquor in Harvard College, 1792–1846," tracing the history of the intimate relationship between the Porcellian Club and the chapter of Phi Beta Kappa at Harvard during more than a half century when the club and the chapter consisted of a large proportion of members in common. Mr. CURTIS implied, or allowed his hearers to infer, that after 1846, "the year of decision," the club and the chapter each took its separate way with the result that life became increasingly lively, and learning continuously more arid.[10]

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[10] Printed in this volume, 56–64.

In commenting on Mr. Curtis's paper of the heavy drinking habits of our forebears, Stephen Willard Phillips remarked that an Englishman had once told him that if the British were ever to adopt the central heating system popular with the Americans, they would have to cut down on their consumption of wine and liquor—that American homes were entirely too warm for a generous diet of port and Scotch.

Mr. Grinnell called the attention of the Members to the fact that the Legislatures of twenty states had already petitioned the Congress to call a Constitutional Convention for the purpose of providing that the maximum Federal Tax on income should be limited to twenty-five per cent—except in times of emergency. He reminded Members that petitions from twelve additional states, according to the Constitution, would make a call for a Federal convention for proposing amendments mandatory. Mr. Grinnell added that the danger of the move was the fact that a second Federal convention might propose additional amendments to the Constitution which the Legislatures of the petitioning states had not had in mind, but that the move was significant of growing impatience with a system of steadily mounting plunder which politicians call taxation.

December Meeting, 1951

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, December 13, 1951, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of November 8 was read and approved.

At the request of the President, the Treasurer announced that he had received to date as a result of the second appeal to Members, of November 26, 1951, twelve checks amounting to $1,270, as gifts to the Endowment Fund.

The Director, reporting for the Cabinet-Keeper and the Librarian, stated that the Society had received a gift of Phillips manuscripts from the Honorable William Phillips, among these being a document signed by John Hancock containing direct evidence of the use of the Old South Meeting House as a stable by the British soldiers during the occupation of Boston.

The Director reported that two Resident Members, who wished to remain anonymous, had given the Society one of the two known copies of Cotton Mather's *Christianity Demonstrated*, published in Boston in 1710, and that BENJAMIN JOY, of Boston, had given the Society a sea chest made for his ancestor, Benjamin Joy, in 1792, when he was sent out by Washington and Jefferson as Consul to Calcutta; and also a portrait of Justice JOSEPH STORY by Chester Harding; together with a letter book for the years 1792–1797 containing copies of the letters which Joy wrote during his residence in India.

The Director added that RICHARD HALE, Jr., had presented the Society with two bottles of old Madeira given him by his father in 1914, five years after he was born, and that the bottles were ready to be emptied after the meeting.

The Director announced also that the Society had bought from the Young Men's Christian Association, of Boston, three letters given to the association in 1851 by Speaker WINTHROP, to be sold for the Building Fund, these letters having been purchased from the balance of the Winthrop Publication Funds with the consent of FREDERIC WINTHROP, of Hamilton, and ROBERT WINTHROP, of New York. These letters were written by William Bradford to John Winthrop, August 17, 1640; Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr., February 24, 1650; and Benjamin Franklin to James Bowdoin, September 5, 1751.

Thomas Boylston Adams, of South Lincoln, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, VERNON DALE TATE speaking as his sponsor.

Robert Walcott, of Cambridge, President of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL speaking as his sponsor.

Lyman Henry Butterfield, of Williamsburg, Virginia, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL speaking as his sponsor.

The President announced that the Council had voted to transfer to Honorary Membership, GEORGE PEABODY GOOCH, elected Corresponding Member of the Society in 1921, and now Senior Corresponding Member.

The President stated that the Society had as its guest Alexander Forbes, of Milton, son of William Hathaway Forbes.

ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER read a paper entitled "Major William Hathaway Forbes and Colonel John S. Mosby: A Chapter from the Civil War," narrating the adventures of Major Forbes, who was taken prisoner by Colonel Mosby and the life-long friendship of the two men which resulted from that unfortunate conflict.[11]

At the conclusion of the paper, the Recording Secretary rose to express his opinion, quoting from an article in the *Reader's Digest* as to the possible results of the Tidelands Oil Decision of the Supreme Court stating that if the Court could permit the Federal Government to take tidal oil wells from Texas and California by right of eminent domain, then it could take the corn of Kansas and the oil of Oklahoma. He added that the House of Representatives had already passed a bill restoring to the coastal states the oil wells lost by the decision of the Court but that the Senate had not acted on the bill as yet.

At the end of Mr. GRINNELL's remarks, ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., dissented vigorously, stating that he would bet five dollars that the Supreme Court would never extend Federal eminent domain in the strange manner which the Recording Secretary seemed to fear. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER joined the fray.

January Meeting, 1952

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, January 10, 1952, Mr. CHAFEE in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of December 13, 1951, was read, and, after a slight correction, approved.

Mr. BIGELOW, speaking for the Finance Committee, read the following schedule for the relative book and market value of the stocks owned by the Society on December 31, 1951:

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[11] Printed in this volume, 65–75.

	Book	*Market*	
2 - Railroads	$ 27,000	$ 33,800	$ 6,800
1 - Telephone and Telegraph	24,600	30,800	6,200
14 - Electric and Power	137,700	164,100	26,400
23 - Industrials	310,900	534,000	223,100
2 - Banks	30,200	31,800	1,600
4 - Insurance	68,100	120,300	52,200
Total	$598,500	$914,800	$316,300

showing a total appreciation of market value over book value of $316,300.

Mr. Forbes, speaking as Treasurer, stated that the total gifts to the Endowment Fund, as of January 10, 1952, amounted to $22,790.69.

The Corresponding Secretary stated that he had received acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Thomas Boylston Adams, of South Lincoln, and Robert Walcott, of Cambridge, and of election to Corresponding Membership from Lyman Henry Butterfield, of Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Director presented the monthly report for the Cabinet-Keeper and the Librarian, announcing gifts to the Library from John Adams, Benjamin Joy, and William Phillips.

From John Adams, a copy of John Quincy Adams, *Report upon Weights and Measures* (Philadelphia, 1821).

From Benjamin Joy, a letter-book kept by Joseph Barrell from March 9, 1791, through February 1, 1797. Barrell was one of the owners of the vessels *Columbia* and *Washington* which made the famous voyages to the Northwest Coast.

From William Phillips, two manuscript deeds dated 1672, relating to the sale to Thomas Brattle of a part of the Concord Iron Works. The deeds are signed by Edward Bulkeley, Peter Bulkeley, John Flint, and others.

From the Estate of William Lithgow Willey, of Boston, a number of manuscripts relating to Massachusetts, 1677–1812.

By purchase: A collection of books printed in Massachusetts before 1820, numbering fifty volumes.

Augustus P. Loring, of Pride's Crossing, was elected a Resident Member, Mr. Whitehill having spoken as sponsor.

Henry Forbush Howe, of Cohasset, was elected a Resident Member, Mr. Dodge having spoken as sponsor, and Mr. Bigelow as seconder.

Abbot Stevens, of North Andover, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill having spoken as sponsor.

Walter Goodwin Davis, of Portland, Maine, President of the Maine Historical Society, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. Riley having spoken as sponsor.

Perry Miller read a paper entitled "The Literary Aspects of the Land-Bank Controversy in Massachusetts: 1714–1720," a chapter from a book he was preparing for publication, tracing the changes in the religious and philosophical thought of the community from the days of the first settlers to the time of Queen Anne and the long struggle between the hard- and soft-money men of Massachusetts over the use of paper money and the social dangers of inflation.[12]

At the conclusion of the paper, the Members discussed certain aspects of the history of inflation and deflation from the days of ancient Athens to the present, Mr. Miller answering questions from the floor.

February Meeting, 1952

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, February 14, 1952, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting for January 10 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Augustus Peabody Loring, of Pride's Crossing, Henry Forbush Howe, of Cohasset, Abbot Stevens, of North Andover, and to Corresponding Membership from Walter Goodwin Davis, of Portland, Maine.

The Treasurer reported that gifts to the Endowment Fund amounted to $25,065.69, including the receipt of a contingent legacy of $2,000 from the estate of Frances R. Morse, who died in Boston in 1928.

The Director reported the accessions to the Library and Cabinet for the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper; among these, an arm chair made from the timbers of the John Hancock House, in Beacon Street, Boston, at the time of its demolition in 1863.

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[12] *The New England Mind, from Colony to Province* (Cambridge, 1953), Chapter 2.

From Walter G. Maxon, of Providence, Rhode Island, a small collection of miscellaneous manuscripts, 1764–1868.

From Mrs. Mabelle Moreland, of Del Paso Heights, California, a document issued at the Headquarters Department of Kentucky, dated March 20, 1865, permitting Lieutenant John C. Norcross to return to Massachusetts after his successful escape from the enemy.

From Edward J. Platt, of New York, a photostat of a letter written by Samuel Sewall, dated at Boston, December 23, 1717, about the death of Nicholas Noyes, at Salem.

From the Estate of William Lithgow Willey, two commissions issued to Charles S. Lambert in the Massachusetts Militia dated April 24, 1829, and May 1, 1835, and an engraved certificate of merit awarded him March 1, 1831, in the Light Infantry Company of Winslow Blues.

From Williams College, an order issued to Solomon Stoddard, Sheriff of Hampshire County, by Governor Thomas Hutchinson empowering him to appoint deputies, dated at Boston, September 19, 1770.

The Director announced that, with the consent of the Council, Mr. RILEY and he were entertaining the National Society of Autograph Collectors in the building on the afternoon of Tuesday, May 6, 1952, and, with the assistance of Mrs. John Adams and Mrs. Allan Forbes, were planning to hold open house for Members and their wives and invited guests in the building of the Society on the afternoon of Friday, May 16, 1952, in connection with the exhibition of manuscripts which the Librarian was preparing for the paper he would read on Thursday, May 8, 1952.

Ellis Wethrell Brewster, of Plymouth, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. WHITEHILL having spoken as sponsor.

Bertram Kimball Little, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. DEWING having spoken as sponsor.

CLARENCE HENRY HARING then read a paper entitled "Latin American Dictatorships and the United States," tracing the troubled course of relations during the twentieth century, pointing out that the very liberals who once protested against intervention in the Latin American countries now protested against recognition and relations with the dictators—always in the sacred name of Democracy.[13]

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[13] Printed in this volume, 158–170.

At the conclusion of his paper, Stephen Willard Phillips, remarking on the course of events leading to the American acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands, declared that the one and only purpose of intervention was practical, that is, to make government work, and that the intervention of the United States in Hawaii had been preëminently successful—not in the name of Democracy, but in the common sense of law and order and the protection of property. Mr. Phillips cited the examples of Mexico and India and provoked an interesting discussion of the opposite and extreme dangers of dictatorship and Democracy, each of which, inevitable and alternate, provoked the other throughout the course of history.

Mr. Chafee introduced the question of how to find a nice balance between these two extremes—some milder check on both authority and popular suffrage such as existed during the days of the great Whig aristocracy in England between the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the first reform bill of 1832, when the country had outgrown the Tudor tyranny of Henry VIII and had not yet reached the days of Gladstone, when both liberals and conservatives began to bid against each other for votes.

Mr. Haring described briefly the experiment in 1830–1860 with an autocratic republic in Chile and cited the election of Bolivar as President for life, neither of which succeeded in saving the people from themselves.

Mr. Dewing reminded Members that the Golden Age of Government in ancient Athens came after Solon and before Sostratus and grew from the middle ground between absolutism on the right hand and the rule of the voting mob on the left, stating that then the disinterested personal management of affairs by Pericles came to an end with his death, the political system of Athens worked out its doom—that the modern world, so far as he could observe, was repeating, in almost every respect, the tragic history of the city states of the Ancient World.

Mr. Chase asked if it was not absurd to hope that what Americans call Democracy could be practised with success among peoples and in countries without the long experience with local government which the English-speaking people had gone through. It was impossible and dangerous to try to leave Henry VIII for Gladstone at one leap. Democracy, he added, was too big a pill for South America to swallow at the time of its liberation from Europe, even though that delightful diet was sugar-coated with the declamations of Henry Clay.

After a discreet discussion of the danger to the government of the United States from growth in mere size, the meeting adjourned.

March Meeting, 1952

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, March 13, 1952, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting for February 14 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that he had received acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Ellis Wethrell Brewster, of Plymouth, and Bertram Kimball Little, of Boston.

The Treasurer reported that gifts to the Endowment Fund now amounted to $26,265.69, not counting a check for $1,000 sent to the Society by Robert, Frederic, and Nathaniel Winthrop with the express proviso that the money be used for the current expenses of the Society.

The Director reported the accessions of the past month for the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper, calling particular attention to a gift from John Adams of a rare pamphlet by Charles Lucas Pinckney Horry which was given to President John Adams in 1797; and to a gift from the American Legion Memorial War Library, of Watertown, South Dakota, of an extremely rare pamphlet by Philip Astley, *The Modern Riding-Master* (Philadelphia, 1776); and the deposit in the Library of the Society of the diary of John Gallison, 1788–1820, covering the years 1807 to 1820. The Director also exhibited the portrait which Chester Harding painted in 1820 of Daniel Boone—this portrait having recently been cleaned, reframed, and photographed, preparatory to its loan to the Connecticut Valley Historical Museum in May, 1952.

The Society then elected Hugh Whitney, of Boston, to Resident Membership, Elliott Perkins, of Cambridge, speaking as his sponsor.

Charles Howard McIlwain then read a paper entitled "William

Alabaster, A Forgotten Member of the Winthrop Family," tracing the eccentric career during the political and religious struggles of the seventeenth century of a first cousin of John Winthrop, the first Governor of Massachusetts, and describing the mental ecstasies and anguish of persons who thought it of first importance to leave one church and join another or to turn heretics from the error of their ways.[14]

April Meeting, 1952

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, April 10, 1952, President ADAMS in the chair.

The record of the meeting of March 13 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance for Resident Membership from HUGH WHITNEY, of Boston, and for Honorary Membership from GEORGE PEABODY GOOCH.

The Treasurer reported that he had received $110 since the last meeting of the Society, and that the Endowment Fund now amounted to $26,375.69.

The Director reported on the invitation to the Open House to be held at the Society on Friday, May 16, 1952, and announced the following gifts to the Society:

From ALLAN FORBES, Album I of military and war emergency paper currency, and some bills issued by warring countries and by countries during inflationary post-war periods.

From CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, a pack of playing cards made by Thomas Crehore, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, about 1800–1825; two silver buckles used by the Nascapee Indians, and two carved powder-horns, one of which has engraved on it the English Royal Coat of Arms and the initials "G. W.," and the other has carved in raised letters, "Men Who Have Used the Powder Horn in 1812," and the names Truxtun, McCall, Red Jacket, Colonel Boyd, and Jackson.[15]

From Mrs. John Adams, Mrs. Charles Brewer, Charles F. Morse, and Thomas F. Morse, a collection of Civil War letters, 1861–1865, written by

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[14] Printed in this volume, 3–7.

[15] Thomas Truxtun (1755–1822); Edward Rutledge McCall (1790–1853); Red Jacket: Chief of the Wolf Tribe of the Senecas. He served against the United States (1776–1781), and served with the United States (1812–1815); John Parker Boyd (1764–1830); and Andrew Jackson (1767–1845).

Charles Fessenden Morse, Colonel in the Second Massachusetts Infantry Regiment.

From Mrs. Henry Lyman, of Boston, a pipe bearing the initials of Robert Gould Shaw (1837–1863), and found in his tent after his death.

On deposit: from Horace Mann, of Southwest Harbor, Maine, a collection of original letters written to and from Horace and Mary Tyler (Peabody) Mann, 1825–1882; also, a collection of photostats of original letters written to and from Horace Mann while at Antioch College.

By purchase: Jonathan Mitchel, *A Discourse of the Glory To which God hath called Believers by Jesus Christ* (London, 1677).

The following men were elected to Resident Membership: Davenport Brown, of Boston; Charles Dyer Childs, of Stow; Oscar Handlin, of Cambridge; and William Henry Harrison, of Harvard.

SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY read a paper entitled "Steps Toward Federation in Europe."[16]

May Meeting, 1952

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 8, 1952, at three o'clock in the afternoon, President ADAMS in the chair.

The record of the meeting of April 10 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received letters of acceptance of election to Resident Membership from DAVENPORT BROWN, CHARLES DYER CHILDS, OSCAR HANDLIN, and WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Treasurer made his annual report, and "it was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society."

The Director read the monthly report for the Librarian and the Cabinet-Keeper.

From MARK BORTMAN, a document relating to an early slave sale in Massachusetts, dated June 12, 1667. This is a bond executed by Job Lane, a carpenter of Malden, in favor of John Leverett, of Boston, for the purchase of a Negro boy called Mercury.

From A. W. Cabot, of Boston, several printed books, among them, *A Me-*

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[16] Printed in this volume, 171–183.

morial of Edward Twistleton Cabot (Boston, 1889) and *J. Elliott Cabot* (Boston, 1904).

From Harvard University, a small collection of bills, receipts, land warrants, *etc.*, relating chiefly to towns on Cape Cod in the nineteenth century.

From Mrs. Ellen Bowdlear Read, of Hampton, Virginia, a daguerreotype of Moses Hadley and family, taken in 1845.

On deposit: from Mrs. Henry Morse Channing, of Sherburn, a collection of Minot Family Papers, 1698–1878. The collection includes letters by Daniel Davis, Abigail Dwight, Elizabeth Dwight, James Freeman, Fanny Kemble, Catherine Maria Sedgwick, Charles Sedgwick, and Theodore Sedgwick.

The Society elected the following men to Resident Membership: Edward Pierce Hamilton, of Milton, CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH speaking as sponsor; Robert Peabody Bellows, of Boston, WILLIAM PHILLIPS speaking as sponsor; Samuel Cabot, of Brookline, ROBERT WALCOTT speaking as sponsor; and George Caspar Homans, of Cambridge, THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS speaking as sponsor.

The President announced that the Society would hold its first open house on the afternoon of Friday, May 16, 1952, and that the invitations to that reception had already been put in the mail.

STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, Librarian of the Society, then read a paper entitled "Some Aspects of the Manuscript Collections of the Society,"[17] describing the contents of some of the greater ones and reading extracts from others. Mr. RILEY stated that he had prepared an exhibition of some of the finer possessions of the Society which had been placed in the cases of the Museum on the first floor, to which the Members then repaired for their Madeira.

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1952

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on the afternoon of Thursday, October 9, 1952, at three o'clock, President ADAMS in the chair.

The record of the meeting for May 8 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received acceptances of Resident Membership from the following: ROBERT PEA-

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[17] Printed in this volume, 240–247.

BODY BELLOWS, of Boston; SAMUEL CABOT, of Brookline; EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, of Milton; and GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS, of Cambridge.

Mr. RILEY presented the monthly report of the Director of accessions to the Cabinet and the Library:

From Miss Julia Dulany Addison, of Brookline, a selection of the papers of her father, the Reverend Daniel Dulany Addison, including the correspondence and writings of Lucy Larcom, which he used in writing her biography.

From Edward Brooks, of Rutland, Vermont, forty prints of the home of Peter Chardon Brooks, of West Medford, Massachusetts; the Journal (1718–1742) of the Reverend John Brown, of Haverhill, Massachusetts; the Journal (1753–1756 and 1760–1762) of the Reverend Edward Brooks, of Medford, and the commission appointing Edward Brooks the chaplain in the ship *Hancock*, dated April 11, 1777, and signed by John Hancock. Mr. Brooks also transfers to the Society ownership of the private Account Books (1789–1849) of Peter Chardon Brooks, and the Journals (October, 1858–December, 1870, and May, 1876–July, 1891) of Francis Brooks, which were deposited in the Society by him.

From Dr. T. L. Chadbourne of Vinton, Iowa, an engraving by John Rubens Smith of the portrait of Benjamin Lincoln by Henry Sargent.

From the English Descendants of Admiral George Teale Sebor Winthrop, Jonathan Belcher's manuscript journal of a tour through Holland, Hanover, Prussia, and Flanders, *etc.*, in 1704.

From Miss Louise Everett, of Boston, a diary of EDWARD EVERETT for the period November 19, 1825–February 12, 1826. This contains an account of his journey to Washington and his first stay as representative in Congress; a number of miscellaneous letters of EVERETT and others, 1819–1860, and EVERETT's letter-book (1835–1851), containing private and confidential letters.

From Dr. Joseph Edward Fields, of Joliet, Illinois, thirty-five letters written by Henry Knox, two by Lucy Knox and one by BENJAMIN LINCOLN, written between 1777 and 1807.

From the Misses Helen and Mary Guild, of Boston, a number of letters, playbills, photographs, *etc.*, to be added to the Curtis Guild autograph collection.

From Miss Helen C. McCleary, of Brookline, a writing-book kept by Thomas Luckis, 1735–1736, several documents relating to the McCleary family, and a rare Boston imprint—*A Hymn of St. Bernard's to the Holy Jesus* (Boston, 1744).

From VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, of New York, twelve letters (1850–1877) written by ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

From W. C. Williams, of Hanford, California, a document dated at Boston, November 17, 1869, notifying Joseph Tucker, of Lenox, that he has been elected Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts. It is signed by Governor William Claflin.

From R. C. Woodbury, of New Westminster, British Columbia, a manuscript sermon preached by the Reverend Jacob Bailey (1731–1818) on June 28, 1792.

By purchase: A large collection of manuscript maps of Boston before 1800 drawn by Samuel C. Clough, together with all his working papers and records of early Boston inhabitants.

By purchase: A collection of letters (1732–1788) written to or about Captain Thomas Saunders, the commander of the province sloop *Massachusetts*.

By purchase: A collection of Hutchinson-Oliver family papers (1766–1813), and a volume compiled by Peter Orlando Hutchinson, containing a collection of letters, copies of letters, agreements, *etc.*, relating to the publication of the *Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson. . . .*

Mr. ADAMS announced the deaths of two Resident Members and one Corresponding Member as follows:

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, elected a Corresponding Member in March, 1905, and a Resident Member on October 14, 1915, died at Dover, Massachusetts, on June 23, 1952; FREDERIC LAURISTON BULLARD, elected a Resident Member in March, 1944, died at Melrose Highlands on August 3, 1952; VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, elected a Corresponding Member in April, 1930, died in Brooklyn, New York, on October 3, 1952.

Godfrey Lowell Cabot, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, ROGER WOLCOTT speaking as Sponsor.

THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, one of the three Trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust—these being The Honorable CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, of Boston, THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, of South Lincoln, and John Quincy Adams, of Dover—reported to the Society on the Adams Papers deposited in the building in 1905. Mr. ADAMS described the papers and explained the proposals for raising money to pay for microfilming them in order to make them available to scholars, together with the ultimate plan for the editing and publishing of them. Mr. ADAMS stated that a meeting of a committee had been held in the Adams Library, Quincy, Massachusetts, on Saturday, August 9, 1952, at ten o'clock in the morning, there being present: THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS and John Quincy Adams, Trustees, and JOHN ADAMS, JULIAN PARKS BOYD, LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, Waldo G. Leland, STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, VERNON DALE TATE, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL; Douglass Adair being present during the latter part of the meeting. This meeting was called to consider steps necessary for the preservation of the Adams Papers, on deposit in the Massachusetts Historical Society, by providing, in the first place, for the microfilming of the entire collection at an estimated cost of approximately $7,000. It was decided that probably $15,000 would adequately cover the cost both of preparation of the Papers and filming, and that steps should be taken toward raising this sum of money from some foundation.

Mr. Adams added that the following Advisory Committee had been appointed to act with the Trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust:

Samuel Flagg Bemis
Julian Parks Boyd
Lyman Henry Butterfield
Stewart Mitchell
Samuel Eliot Morison
Stephen Thomas Riley
Vernon Dale Tate
Walter Muir Whitehill, *Secretary*

Mr. Adams stated that this Advisory Committee would meet, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Morison, at 44 Beacon Street, Boston, following the Annual Meeting of the Society.

The Society then turned to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Dr. Bowditch, reporting as Chairman of the committee of three, Harold Bowditch, Ernest Stanley Dodge, and Henry Forbush Howe, to prepare the annual ballot, submitted the following nominations:

President
John Adams

Vice-Presidents
Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe
Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

Recording Secretary
Frank Washburn Grinnell

Corresponding Secretary
Roger Wolcott

Treasurer
Allan Forbes

Cabinet-Keeper
Walter Muir Whitehill

New Members-at-Large of the Council
1952–1955
CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH
CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report in brief form:

Information Taken from Auditor's Report
Year ending June 30, 1952

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Market value of securities on June 30, 1952		
69½% in Common Stocks		$1,385,818.49
Total Principal of funds on June 30, 1952		$1,029,086.41
Additions during year:		
Income added to principal	$10,326.49	
Royalties added to Adams Fund	396.94	
Additional contributions:		
Endowment Fund	11,778.44	
James Duncan Phillips Fund	1,000.00	
Transfers from Income Balances (Net)	4,580.40	
Total	$28,082.27	
Total Investment Income for year		$ 57,389.29
Dividends Decreased from previous year:		
Chrysler Corporation	$ 1,700.00	
du Pont	1,026.00	
Union Carbide & Carbon	600.00	
United Fruit Company	350.00	
Total	$ 3,676.00	
General and Administrative Expenses for year		$ 40,791.44
Total Contributions to the Endowment Fund since it started to June 30, 1952		$ 27,685.69
Balance Income Available for General Purposes		$ 35,325.63
Expenses		$ 40,791.44
Operating deficit for one year charged to J. L. Sibley Fund Income		$ 5,465.81

The Cabinet-Keeper read the Annual Report of the Council as prepared by the Director before his departure for Europe on August 1, 1952.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE past year on the whole has been satisfactory for this Society. No major disappointments have occurred, and no large unexpected expenses have had to be met by the Council. After due deliberation, readjustments in three salaries have been voted; for this Society, like every other charitable foundation, has to face the steadily falling value of the dollar, and has to do this with an income which is not rising nearly so rapidly as the cost of living is rising. "We will compel," declared the fanatical and wicked Lenin about thirty years ago, "We will compel the capitalistic powers to *spend* themselves into destruction"—and Lenin, like all very bad men of very great ability, seems likely to rate high in history as a political prophet. To cope with this distressing situation your Committee of Finance has rearranged our investments so shrewdly that the income of the Society has been increased to well above the figure which we could reasonably have expected in these palmy days of inflation, even though our extra dividends for 1952 have not equalled those for 1951. The Society is no longer running a deficit, if we take into account the annual surplus of the income of the John Langdon Sibley Fund, on which his will expressly permits us to draw, in part, for our current expenses.

Why, then, some may ask, is the Society straining every nerve to add to its Endowment Fund? Simply because the income from additions to the Endowment Fund will be needed, sooner or later, to meet expenses which lie ahead of us in the future—the steadily rising cost of printing, and the harrowing increases in the price of everything we have to buy. The staff is in excellent shape—far better shape than it has been in fifty years—but the staff must live, and live in Greater Boston, or seek work elsewhere. Rapid turn-over in help is the Paradise of efficient fools. Nor can we honestly compare the cost of living in this city with finding a living out in the sticks. During the past year Members and friends of this Society have added $11,000 to the Endowment Fund, which now amounts to almost $30,000. The prospect of certain contingent legacies prevents the future from looking altogether dark for us, in spite of the fact that it is our misfortune to live in what Aristophanes would have called a "cloud-cuckoo-land" of federal finances based on devious national bookkeeping, and on paper money.

From the social point of view, the past year has been noticeably reassuring for the Society. Although only 51 Members turned out for the Annual Dinner last October as compared with 58 for the First Annual Dinner, of 1950, the attendance at the stated meetings has reached the high average of exactly 33—and this without the help of any stellar meeting such as that in March, 1951, when 47 Members came to hear Douglas Southall Freeman read on George Washington. Moreover, your Director and Librarian have entertained three groups of scholars here in this building: first, the American Society of Genealogists on Saturday, November 10, 1951; second, the Nieman Fellows of Harvard, under the leadership of Perry Miller, on Tuesday, January 8, 1952; and third, the National Society of Autograph Collectors on Tuesday, May 6, 1952. Then, on Friday, May 16, 1952, the Society held its first Spring Exhibition and Reception, for both Members and the public, under the sponsorship of the wives of the officers of the Society. This first reception was so successful that your President has decided to make it an annual event, for which all Members are now advised to hold open the afternoon of Friday, May 1, 1953.

After the death of our amiable Treasurer, Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., on October 1, 1951, President Adams was persuaded, not without difficulty, to accept the Chairmanship of the key Committee of Membership, and Walter Muir Whitehill was added to that Committee in place of Mr. Loring. During the past year the Committee has met approximately once a month to canvass the Book of Nominations, and to offer new names to the Council. The emphasis has been on youth and usefulness. Since the last Annual Meeting nineteen Resident Members and two Corresponding Members have been brought into the Society, as follows:

Resident: William Henry Claflin, Jr., Richard Walden Hale, Jr., John Silsbee Lawrence, Thomas Boylston Adams, Robert Walcott, Augustus Peabody Loring, Henry Forbush Howe, Abbot Stevens, Bertram Kimball Little, Ellis Wethrell Brewster, Hugh Whitney, Davenport Brown, Charles Dyer Childs, Oscar Handlin, William Henry Harrison, Robert Peabody Bellows, Samuel Cabot, Edward Pierce Hamilton, George Caspar Homans.

Corresponding: Lyman Henry Butterfield, Walter Goodwin Davis.

George Peabody Gooch was transferred from Corresponding Membership to Honorary Membership, and he wrote the Society a characteristically gracious note of thanks for the recognition he eminently deserved.

We have lost only five Members in the last twelve months, or actually only four, for the news of the death of our Senior Corresponding Member, Rafael Altamira y Crevea, in Mexico City on June 1, 1951, did not reach the Society until November. Edwin Merrick Dodd, a Resident Member since November 9, 1944, died tragically by accident on November 3, 1951; George Parker Winship, elected a Corresponding Member on March 9, 1905, and a Resident Member on October 14, 1915, died at Dover on June 23, 1952; Frederic Lauriston Bullard, elected a Resident Member March 9, 1944, died at Melrose Highlands on August 3, 1952; and Victor Hugo Paltsits, a Corresponding Member since April 10, 1930, died in New York on October 3, 1952. The Society now has its full quota of ten Honorary Members; it has 49 Corresponding Members, and 120 Resident Members out of the maximum of 125.

Our Librarian, Stephen Thomas Riley, will read you his own report of the accessions and activities of the Library during the past year, but the Cabinet-Keeper has decided to incorporate his report in this Report of the Council. Among the notable accessions during the past year are the following: from Miss Louisa Loring Dresel, of Cambridge, an extremely rare and beautiful silver punch strainer, made by William Breed in 1741; from our Treasurer, Allan Forbes, a magnificent collection of military paper money of all times and places, which will greatly add to the treasures of the Coin Room; from Chauncey Cushing Nash, two rare carved powder horns and a pair of silver buckles made by the Nascapee Indians; and lastly, from Benjamin Joy, the sea-chest built for his forebear, Benjamin Joy, for a voyage to India in 1792, and a beautiful portrait of Justice Joseph Story, by Chester Harding.

With the consent of the Council, the Society loaned for two years, to the Museum of Smith College, the portrait of Mrs. William Shurtleff, stored in the racks of the attic, and one of the two portraits of Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776–1832), the famous German phrenologist who died in Boston and was buried, by gift, in a handsome tomb in Mount Auburn Cemetery. In addition, the Society lent four portraits by Chester Harding to the Connecticut Valley Historical Museum at Springfield, for exhibition there from May 15 to July 1—two portraits of Daniel Webster; the famous Daniel Boone, which was painted in 1820, and the portrait of Joseph Story mentioned above. Lastly, in honor of the three-hundredth anniversary of the first coinage of money in Massachusetts, the Society, through the good offices of Chauncey C. Nash, lent the finest specimens of its colonial coins to the State Street Trust Company for exhibition during the month of June, 1952. During the past year, ten portraits have been cleaned and framed, the cost being charged to the income of the Peabody Fund, given expressly for this purpose, and one very rare map—Thomas Johnston's Map of the Kennebeck (1754)—has been cleaned, remounted, and decently framed at the Museum of Fine Arts.

The building, apart from the sporadic sit-down strikes of an aging and temperamental elevator, dating from 1923, has not been the source of any great trouble or expense during the past year. After careful consideration, the Finance Committee and the Council decided to cancel the merely nominal insurance of $50,000 on the contents of the building, since the annual cost of adequate insurance for our invaluable books and manuscripts was quite beyond our income. Then it was decided to increase, by $125,000, the $342,000-worth of insurance carried on the building, thus bringing that insurance up to eighty per cent of the appraised value of the building, $583,750. In February, the Council voted the sum of $288 for the purpose of installing fluorescent lights in the old boiler room and the coal bin in the basement of the building, both of which are now used for the shelving of newspapers and books which are rarely consulted.

We all know that the Society ought to have a night watchman, just as well as we all know that the Society cannot afford one. Acting on the advice of the Treasurer and the Finance Committee, the Council voted to install an automatic fire alarm, at the initial cost of $660, and an annual maintenance fee of $440. The work of installation was completed in June, but when the contracting company presented its bill on July 21, 1952, there was found attached to it an eight per cent federal tax of $61.60.

A signal act of generosity to this Society deserves to be called to the attention of all its active Members. Last spring a good friend, who insisted that his name be kept secret, gave our Treasurer a whole year's salary for a direly needed cataloguer of manuscripts; whereupon, Mr. Riley added Alexander McElwain, a graduate of the Class of 1921 at Harvard, to the staff. Mr. McElwain will devote his whole time for twelve months to helping the Society catch up at the making of cards for its steadily growing catalogue of manuscripts. Mr. Riley himself gives every hour he can spare from the distractions of his daily routine to this work; so that slowly, but surely, the old bundles of papers, most of them very valuable, are being sorted and placed in firm cardboard boxes, and where they are readily available for scholars—of whom 1,462 made use of the Library last year. Thus, since 1791, a little group of ten founders of a private society has grown into one of the greatest institutions for historical research in the United States.

For many Members the chief interest of the Society lies in its publications. Once again the Director must compliment and thank the Committee in charge, for its cordial coöperation, its good judgment, and, above all, its care and its promptness in reading yard after yard of galley-proof. The twenty-seventh volume of the Society's edition of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* (1715–1780) was delivered to Members during the past summer. In spite of the income from the William Bradford Homer Dowse Fund of $25,000 and the shift from printing to reproduction by offset, the Society is now losing one thousand dollars a year on this work. With thirty years yet to go (even at no increase in cost) the Society stands to lose at least thirty thousand dollars during those thirty years—or more than the whole principal of the William Bradford Homer Dowse Fund. With this in mind, the Council appointed a Committee of three of its Members to prepare a petition to the General Court, submitting a bill for the revision of the Statute of 1920, according to which the Commonwealth pays the Society $750 a year for 300 copies of these journals, or $2.50 a copy for a book which now costs $7.00 to make!

The son of one of our Resident Members, the Honorable Christopher H. Phillips, Senator from the Second Essex District, has promised to introduce this bill at the next session of the General Court, and the Honorable Charles J. Innes, Senator from the Third Suffolk District and Majority Leader of the Senate, has promised his support. If the new bill goes through, as is devoutly to be hoped, the Commonwealth will in future buy the volumes of the *House Journals* at cost—allowing always for the fact that the Society receives an income of $1,500 *per annum* from the W. B. H. Dowse Fund, which was given expressly for this work. If the bill fails to pass, the Society must discontinue publication and then offer to return $25,000 to the heirs of Mr. Dowse.

In May, CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, Sibley Editor of the Society, delivered to the Society the eighth volume of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates*—the fifth volume of a notably distinguished series which has come from his hand since 1933. The preparation and the publication of these volumes is the first charge, according to the will of John Langdon Sibley, on the income of the fund which he left the Society in 1885. One-fourth of that income, it should be remembered, must be added to the principal annually until January 22, 2002, one hundred years after the death of Mr. Sibley's widow. The appearance of these volumes approximately every five years has added greatly to the reputation of this Society for scholarship which is not only accurate, but interesting.

The Director is greatly relieved to assure you that all the editorial work for the long-awaited *Proceedings* 68, containing eighteen papers from October, 1944, through May, 1947, is now at last complete. Not only these eighteen papers, but twelve memoirs and tributes and the records of twenty-four stated meetings are now in page-proof, and the index is practically completed. This sixty-eighth volume of *Proceedings* will carry the date of 1952 on its title-page. The difficulties and the misfortunes which have caused the long delay in the appearance of this volume had better remain one of the state secrets of the Committee of Publication. The sixty-ninth volume of *Proceedings* will cover the years from October, 1947, through May, 1950, and the seventieth volume—the last which your present Director is likely to prepare—will contain our records and papers from October, 1950, through May, 1953. Parts of both these volumes have already been printed as separates, but the heavy work of getting them out, amid almost incessant interruptions, will be his chief business for 1952 and 1953. The next volume of *Winthrop Papers* and the proposed *Correspondence of John Adams and his Son Charles* must lie, for the time being, on the lap of the gods—the Winthrop volume for mere lack of time, and the Adams volume for lack both of time and money.

When the forthcoming volume of *Proceedings* is off the press, Members who care to consult the Report of the Treasurer will find that it has been printed in a greatly simplified form. This synopsis has been drawn from the Auditor's Report for June 30, 1947. The purpose of the simplification has been to present a brief statement, stripped of all cumbersome details, of the principal, the annual income, and the annual outgo of the Society, together with a list of the various funds which make up a total of slightly over $1,000,000. Those Members who want the details of our finances are always at liberty to consult the annual reports of the Auditor, copies of which are always open for inspection in the offices of the President, the Treasurer, or the Director.

The Director takes leave of the year 1951–1952 with a light heart, and, if his heart is light, things must be looking up, at last. Comparing the present state of the building with that of the one he entered reluctantly as Editor twenty-three years ago, he feels a sense of genuine satisfaction, for the Society seems to have taken a new lease on life. If the Members are not more able, they are certainly more active, for they have learned, he hopes, that their advice, their coöperation, and their comradeship are not only welcome, but necessary to him every day. Your Director and your Librarian have the best of reasons for believing that never has the staff been more capable, more congenial, and so happy within the memory of any Member now alive. This Society will neither live, nor flourish, nor serve merely by acquiring manuscripts and collecting books, or even by publishing them, or meeting the grim, if supreme necessity of providing money. Its only strong walls are the strongest walls of all—good will.

STEWART MITCHELL
Director

The Librarian read his Annual Report.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

IF the past year has been successful, much of the credit should go to the Staff, which served the largest number of visitors the Library has welcomed in a long time. Because it is the policy of many institutions of research to close for a month during the summer, the Society was besieged by scholars from all over the country, some of whom might ordinarily have spent part of their time elsewhere. In spite of the heat, for our reading room is not air-conditioned, they seemed happy and pleased with the aid they received.

Taking part in the great historical-research projects going on in the scholarly world is nearly always a stimulating experience, for it invariably reveals treasures owned by the Society that are not sufficiently well known. Several months ago, when the editors of the Theodore Roosevelt Papers were working here, we were able to produce a remarkable letter written by Judge Robert Grant to James Ford Rhodes in 1912. It concerns Roosevelt's stay at Grant's house when he announced his candidacy for the Presidency. This letter, only a portion of which appeared in the author's *Fourscore: An Autobiography* (1934), is as follows:

Personal *Boston, March 22, 1912*

DEAR RHODES, Glad as I was to receive your letter of March 3rd, I wish it had not arrived before I had succeeded in sending you the account of the Roosevelt visit which I promised. I began it in rough draft almost immediately, but there was so much to say and I have been so pressed with work that the days have sped without my finishing it, though the first three pages are lying on my desk. Now I am going to make a fresh start and have sought my favorite nook in the roof of the Athenæum for the purpose. We look out this morning on a landscape of snow, and the blue Charles—for the ice has gone—with the snow capped back-ground suggest[ing] Cannes and the Riviera.

T. R.'s visit to me was arranged January 23rd, when he wrote asking if it would be convenient for me to put him up for the night of February 25th (Sunday) as he was coming on for the Porcellian dinner (Saturday) and subsequent Overseer meeting (Wednesday). He had a standing invitation to stay with me whenever he came on to the Overseer meetings.

You have already heard of the letter from the eight Governors and of the Columbus speech. He told me after his arrival that he had purposely left an interval between that speech and his announcement of willingness to accept the nomination so as to give any of the Governors who found the Columbus speech too radical an opportunity to withdraw—like for instance Bass of N.H., who was an Eastern man.

Brandegee had him in charge at Brookline until Sunday afternoon when he arrived at my house. Of course the Columbus speech had sent the Country into convulsions and everyone was on tip toe to know what his answer was to be, though it was generally assumed that Barkis was willing. My house had suddenly become the storm centre of the country, not altogether to my relish, fond as I am of Theodore. All Sunday morning the telephone was kept very busy by newspapers and people who wished to communicate with him, and a small army of reporters was established close to the spot where the new Cardinal's triumphal arch had lately stood. But when T. R. arrived at 3:20 he said that he would not see anyone until 5:30 and that he wished to tell my wife and me "all about it."

Whereupon he sat down in our library and talked to us for over two hours, broken only by a short visit from Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California, who told him in my presence that he regarded the Columbus speech as moderate and that California had a law recalling judges in force which no one had yet attempted to utilize. Richard H. Dana also came in at tea time, having telephoned for permission to do so. During the latter's visit Theodore told us about the foreign Kings *etc.*, which was new to Dana and Mrs. Grant, but he did not touch on politics. The rest of the time he talked with great freedom, as you will see. At six he had a short interview with all the reporters down stairs and dismissed them for the night. He had previously told us, shortly after his arrival, that he had invited some political friends,—four or five he said—to come to the house to confer with him on the morrow (Monday) and asked my wife if she had any objection. He gave the reporters no inkling of what Monday's answer was to be, but said that it would be issued from New York. At his suggestion I had asked William R. Thayer (Cavour) to dinner, and also at his later request, William Allen White of Kansas, editor, politician and author of "A Certain Rich Man" who was staying at the Colonial Club in Cambridge. He had asked me not to invite more than three guests, and I included Arthur D. Hill with whom I knew he was on friendly terms; though I had no idea that Hill was coming out for him. My wife and sons Alexander and Gordon made up the company, which did not break up until half-past eleven, and the conversation,—an absorbing monologue punctuated by questions and suggestions—was mainly on the burning topic. I had approached (or rather dwelt on) the point of loyalty to Taft already, but just as he was going up to bed I spoke of it again. He turned and standing on the bottom stair reiterated "What do I owe to Taft? It was through me and my friends that he became President. I had him in the hollow of my hand and I had merely to turn my hand and he would have dropped out." He had his pocket knife in his palm and suited his action to the word. I saw him up stairs, and, as he stood at the thresh-hold of his room, he stretched out his arms and exclaimed "I feel fine as silk." It was just midnight and what with the strenuosity of the day I was feeling just a trifle jaded.

Before I give you in detail his reasons and comments, let me say that I never saw him in better physical shape. He is fairly stout, but his color is good, and he appeared vigorous. I saw no signs of unusual excitement. He halts in his sentences occasionally; but from a layman's point of view there was nothing to suggest mental impairment, unless the combination of egotism, faith in his own doctrines, fondness for power and present hostility to Taft,—of which I will speak presently—can be termed symptomatic. On the contrary, I have never spent a more absorbing twenty four hours. He was a most delightful guest. He had his usual laugh at the people who said he drank,—and this story has been revived with the new one that he is crazy. He drank nothing but the wines we had at dinner and he took tea in the afternoon. As you well know, his habits are simply normal. Next morning the news was in the newspapers, and 211 Bay State Road became until 4 P.M., when he left for Grafton Cushing's (who published a disavowal of sympathy with his political doctrines) a political head quarters. I fled to Court promptly at 9 o'clock, but my wife stood by the Penates. The Colonel had possession of the drawing room and dining room down stairs, and visitors were numerous, coming singly and in delegations—some from other states. One of our maids stood constantly at the front door. In the midst of it all the chimney in the library caught fire, and when Mrs. Grant told T.R. of this later he said that it was doubtless due to the conflagration down stairs.

I think I have covered now all the facts, and we will come to his statements. I asked him, as soon as he said that he wished to tell us about it, and that he was willing to accept the nomination, whether the matter was absolutely settled. He replied that it was and that the announcement would emanate from New York and appear in all the newspapers of the country on Monday morning. "Has not every one of your friends advised you against it?" He replied that every one of them had; that he had hesitated for a long time,—been very uncertain; but that he felt he could not refuse the call of those who had applied to him (meaning the eight Governors); that to do so would be cowardice, a case of "il gran rifiuto." (He emphasized this quotation from Dante, which refers, as you will recall, to the refusal of the monk Pietro Morone to accept the papacy after he had been chosen as Celestine V. and his return to his cell. He repeated the same quotation at least once more during the day). "But you will agree that Taft has made a good President this last year?" He acquiesced without enthusiasm, but added that Mr. Taft had put the Republican Party in the same position as the Bell and Everett Whigs just before the Civil War,—that of respectable inactivity. That if he were to wait for four years the Republican party would be in a hopelessly moribund condition and that this was the crucial moment to do it. I suggested that the public would say he was disloyal to the President. He protested that he owed nothing to Mr. Taft, but that the President owed everything to him; that Mr. Taft had in all the States immediately after becoming President affiliated himself with the factions hostile to his (Roosevelt's) friends, —the people whose support had made him (Taft) President. I returned to this several times in the course of his visit, the last time just before we parted at the Overseer meeting, for I had an instinctive feeling that it was not treating Mr. Taft quite fairly. But it was perfectly evident from his point of view that this did not disturb him. Indeed, he asserted that he was interested in carrying out his ideas, and that the plea of disloyalty did not weigh with him. Of course, feeling as he did about Mr. Taft's attitude, this position was logical. In the course of the evening he dwelt on it with Mr. White of Kansas, giving instances of where the President had sided with the factions opposed to him.

"But will any of the party leaders support you?" I inquired.

"No," he said, "None of them; not even Lodge, I think. I don't see how he can. My support will come from the people officered by a few lieutenants—young men principally, like Gov. Bass of New Hampshire." He said he realized that the probabilities were all against his nomination; that a President in office has all the machinery on his side; but that of course it wouldn't do to admit outside that he expected to lose; that if he could reach the popular vote through direct primaries, he could hope to win. It was manifest that he believed that it was indispensable for the future good of the Republican party that he should make the breach. When he said as much I asked "But the situation is complex, I suppose? You would like to be President." "You are right," he replied, "It is complex. I like power; but I care nothing to be President as President. I am interested in these ideas of mine and I want to carry them through, and feel that I am the one to carry them through." He said that he believed the most important questions today were the humanitarian and economic problems, and intimated that the will of the people had been thwarted in these ways, especially by the courts on constitutional grounds, and that reforms were urgent.

As to the third term, which he did not discuss very much, as he realized I was not much concerned on that score, he re-iterated his Outlook statement that saying you do not care for another cup of coffee does not mean that you will not take one another day. He declared positively that the statement in his letter on the morning after his re-election was not intended to apply to anything but a consecutive term; and as to the claims that he had recently told people he would not run again, he stated that he had invariably made a distinction between becoming a candidate and accepting a nomination.

For a day or two before his arrival I had been pointing out to the severe critics of his Columbus speech (most of whom had never read it) that he was not in favor of the recall of judges, but of judicial decisions, and that what he had in mind were not civil and criminal cases, but cases where the several States had declared humanitarian Acts passed by the Legislature to be unconstitutional. Of course in England there is no Constitution; Parliament can pass what laws it sees fit without check. And in European Countries where there is a Constitution the Courts are not the final arbiters. I saw that what he had in mind was a short cut to changing a State Constitution, and the doctrine had less terrors for me than for most people, the majority of whom jumped to the awful conclusion that a judge who should let off a Wall or State St. banker or broker would be liable under the new doctrine to be deprived of office by a plebiscite within forty eight hours. I mention this as a preface to saying that I told him I had less fears of the further development of popular sovereignty than most of our acquaintance, but that I thought he must make very much clearer his theories on this subject, though I saw what he meant and to a certain extent sympathized with his attitude regarding democracy, as expressed by the referendum, initiative, and other methods of effecting legislation by the popular will. William Allen White also called his attention later to the same need of greater clarity and definiteness in his views regarding the Courts. Theodore's own explanation was exactly as I have forecast it to you; but the effect produced on me was that it was still rather an "indigestaque moles,"—an ethical social idea not yet properly worked out. After all, although our constitutions may be too sacred white elephants, the distinction between altering them in the regular way and by popular votes on specific cases decided by the Courts is a little vague and has served incidentally to throw the property owning class and all reverers of our institutions into pink fits.

That Theodore is in earnest and sincere, there is no room for doubt in my mind. People who hate him,—and their number is legion in our walk of life—credit him neither with sincerity nor honesty. But it seems equally clear to me from my humble point of view that he has made a great mistake,—an unnecessary and possibly fatal blunder, which for the time being at any rate bids fair to destroy his value as a great national political asset. He might so easily have waited. To have declared that he would not on any account accept a nomination this year,—even though he had simultaneously disclosed his radical views—would have kept him on the pedestal from which at the moment he appears to be dethroned, and shown him also more magnanimous. At the same time it is to be remembered that he has the reputation of being the most far-sighted politician in the Country, and he unquestionably believes that we are on the eve of an economic revolution, and that it is better for the Country that the Republican party should point the way rather than the Socialists should control the situation and leadership.

Whatever doubts he may have entertained,—and I am sure they were very genuine—as to his present success—I think he expected more popular support than has thus far been accorded him, and must be somewhat disappointed. At the moment of writing,—though it is too soon to be positive—his candidacy promises to be almost a fizzle. The diatribes against him in the newspapers of the East and in many other sections have been vitriolic beyond measure, and a perfect chorus of abuse is being vented against him by his consistent enemies and by most of his grieved quondam admirers. Curiously enough, the impression (whether logical or not) that he has not given Taft quite a square deal seems to have taken hold of the public mind more forcibly than either the repugnance caused by his radical propaganda or the dread of a third term. The abuse has been so overwhelming and bitter the last thirty days under the lead of the N. Y. Evening Post, N. Y. Herald and Springfield Republican that one is tempted to retort with the popular refrain of the day: "You got ter quit kicking my dog aroun' . . . I don't care if he *is* a houn'. You got ter quit kicking my dog aroun'."

Taft has become almost an idol, even in circles where a few months ago he was reviled. If he is elected President, it will be on the crest of the wave of revolt from and denunciation of Roosevelt. He was greeted here last week with very marked enthusiasm, and Roosevelt supporters in Boston are almost as scarce as hen's teeth. Taft has behaved with dignity and amiable forbearance since the announcement. But the test is coming when the Republicans have to face the question whether Taft can win against the Democratic candidate. For the Democrats will not vote for Taft needless to say. In last week's primaries in North Dakota, Lafolette [*sic*] won over Roosevelt, but Taft was nowhere. Taft seems today pretty sure to get the nomination; but if he is defeated in November, the interesting consideration will be as to the effect of Roosevelt's present stand. (By the way, he told me he would support Taft, if nominated, as one who preferred 20 to 19). Nearly every one today claims he is dead for ever as a political factor. If, on the other hand, he is correct in his premise that we are on the verge of an economic revolution,—and there are signs of this in spite of the present visible improvement in business—will he not become the logical leader of a new progressive (Republican) party? His lack of loyalty to Taft is partly a matter of taste, which the people may forget or ignore if they feel that in spite of his foibles he is the man to handle the future situation. It is even now not entirely evident what the mass are thinking. All our friends of course with scarcely an exception are intemperately abusive. But I hear rumors today that the people are in his favor in Maine,—which if true would be important.

It has been rather awkward for me,—for I can not exactly apply to myself Milton's lines "Among the faithless, faithful only he,"—for, as you have perceived, I think he has made an unnecessary mistake which promises to be his Waterloo. And yet at the same time, I am so in sympathy with his desire to right humanitarian wrongs, and such a true admirer of his, that I am generally classed as one of his supporters, though I disapprove of what he has done, and feel a little as if a baby had been left on my doorsteps. It is instinctive with me not to desert a man when he is down,—and one owes loyalty to a guest, even though he sets off a bomb on your premises without warning you. On the other hand, I was on very pleasant terms with Mr. Taft, who I hear on the best authority is *much* wounded and very sad over Theodore's defection. Not being a man who can run with the hare and course with the hounds, I found myself somewhat embarrassed when I shook hands with the President at Col. Harvey's dinner for Mr. Howells. I think he understands that my part in the conspiracy was involuntary, but, I suppose that a man is likely to be measured somewhat by the company he keeps,—especially at this junction if he happens to be a judge. I seem to have been an involuntary pawn on the chess-board of political destiny, and my consolation must be that it was an absorbingly interesting experience.

This letter is so long that I will not venture to add another word except to send my—and Mrs. Grant's—kindest regards to Mrs. Rhodes. Just to make sure that this reaches you safely, please advise me of its receipt. I am sending you also a postscript by separate enclosure.

Yours very truly,
ROBERT GRANT

JAMES FORD RHODES, Esq.

In addition to serving visitors, which is but a part of the work performed in any library, we have made good progress along other lines.

Many of our printed books and broadsides have been moved to more suitable locations. A number of our more important manuscript collections have been rearranged and placed in new boxes, and the work of cataloguing and repairing manuscripts goes on steadily.

Our accessions of printed matter during the year are as follows:

Books	254
Pamphlets	213
Periodicals	548
Broadsides	96
Newspapers	9
Map	1
	1,121

In our special field of books printed in Massachusetts before 1820, we have been able to add over one hundred new titles. Of these a few are worthy of particular notice. From a friend we received one of the two known copies of Cotton Mather's *Christianity Demonstrated* . . . (Boston, 1710). During the summer we were given a rare imprint, *A Hymn of St. Bernard's to the Holy Jesus* (Boston, 1744). This is bound attractively in a wrapper of Dutch flowered paper. The inside of the wrapper contains an early bookplate bearing the name of James Foster, with the date 1744.

Perhaps the best accession was the copy of Philip Astley's *The Modern Riding-Master* . . . (Philadelphia, 1776). This is one of the three known copies of the earliest illustrated sporting book printed in the United States. The other copies are in the American Antiquarian Society and the private collection of the late A. S. W. Rosenbach. It was very satisfying to secure a fine copy of Zadock Steele's *The Indian Captive* (Montpelier, Vermont, 1818), even though it is not a rare book.

We have made some remarkable additions to our great library of manuscripts. Many of these have been described in the regular monthly reports. Only those acquired since the stated meeting in May will be mentioned here. Through the kindness of Miss Priscilla Clough, of West Roxbury, and the interest of Sidvin Frank Tucker, of Winthrop, the Society has been able to purchase for a nominal sum the great collection of manuscript maps of Boston before 1800, drawn by the late Samuel Chester Clough, together with his working papers and records of early Boston inhabitants. Mr. Clough, who was a civil engineer by profession, devoted his leisure time for more than fifty years to this important work. On April 5, 1935, he wrote to Mr. Tucker: "If I knew that I was to die tomorrow, there would be that pleasure that I had done something for Boston that no other man has yet done." Mr. Clough would have been pleased to know that his maps had not been in the Society more than a week before they were being carefully examined by investigators concerned in a land dispute between the Commonwealth and the Boston and Maine Railroad.

Any librarian would be happy to report the accession of such a treasure as Governor Jonathan Belcher's manuscript "Journal of a Tour through Holland, Hannover, Prussia, Flanders, &c 1704." This journal, presented to the Society by the English descendants of Admiral George Teale Sebor Winthrop, is perhaps the earliest known European travel journal kept by an American. Belcher was twenty-two years old when he made the tour, and was much impressed with what he saw. He was especially pleased with the kind reception given him by Sophia, the Electress of Hanover, who questioned him about conditions in New England. At the completion of his tour, Belcher was disposed to record his views on the advantages and disadvantages of traveling. One excerpt reads as follows:

> Travelling acquaints a man with mankind, he sees the various tempers and dispositions of men, as well as different faces. It takes off those prejudices against countries and religions, and rectifies a great many false notions he had taken up, for he sees that generally speaking mankind is much the same, the same tempers, —inclinations, passions, vices, most pursuing the same end, that is their gain and profit or pleasure, as their abilities will allow them, and though he sees peoples of very different religions, yet he can see no difference in their living and conversation. . . . One month's travelling gives man a better history, and a clearer knowledge and idea of countries and things, than a twelve month's reading and study.

As a result of a recommendation made by a Member, the Society was able to purchase a fine collection of letters written to or about Captain Thomas Saunders, commander of the province sloop *Massachusetts*. The letters are for the period 1732–1788, but the bulk of them are concerned with the expedition against Louisburg in 1745. Among the captain's correspondents were Jonathan Belcher, William

Pepperrell, Spencer Phips, Thomas Pownall, William Shirley, and Peter Warren. And the great collection of Henry Knox Papers on permanent deposit from the New England Historic Genealogical Society was strengthened by the gift of thirty-eight letters from Dr. Joseph Edward Fields, of Joliet, Illinois.

We have another Member to thank for the opportunity of purchasing a collection of Hutchinson-Oliver family papers, covering the period 1766–1813. These additional letters will add greatly to the importance of the Hutchinson-Oliver collection already owned by the Society, and will throw new light on the activities of the American Loyalists in England.

In almost every case the new accessions have served to enrich collections of manuscripts already in the Library. Many years ago the huge collection of Edward Everett Papers was given to the Society. Last summer Miss Louise Everett, of Boston, presented the Society with some important new documents. In the lot is a diary kept by Edward Everett when he went to Washington to take his seat as a new representative in Congress. In the light of recent happenings it is interesting to note an entry referring to gifts to public figures:

> November 24 [1825]. Thanksgiving-day throughout the New England states, except Vermont. We took the steamboat *Bellona* at eleven A.M. for New Brunswick [New Jersey]. We had in company Mr. Webster and family, Governor Dickerson, Senator from New Jersey. It was in connection with the *Bellona*, that the celebrated steamboat cause arose, in which Mr. Webster so much distinguished himself and which resulted in breaking up the monopoly of the North River Company. As a very suitable compliment to Mr. Webster, he has always since travelled gratis in the boat. The compliment however is greater than the saving, for in consequence of the competition of another line the fare from New York to New Brunswick is but twelve and one-half cents.

Perhaps this preoccupation with finances led to the following entry by Everett on the next day: "After tea, I walked out and enjoyed most highly a view of the chaste and beautiful front of the United States Bank by moonlight."

In the 1890's, when the Reverend Daniel Dulany Addison was preparing his biography of Lucy Larcom (1824–1893), he gathered in all her correspondence and writings that he could locate. Miss Larcom had a considerable reputation as a poet then, but is now better known for her reminiscent study, *A New England Girlhood,* a story of

New England village life. Through the kindness of Miss Julia Dulany Addison, of Brookline, we are now in possession of these papers, as well as some of her father's papers. John Greenleaf Whittier was a close friend of Lucy Larcom, and collaborated with her on several anthologies. They carried on a steady correspondence, and as a result of this gift we have been able to add about 125 Whittier letters to those already owned by the Society.

In closing, your Librarian would like to acknowledge the loyal assistance given him by many of the Members, both Resident and Corresponding. Through their efforts we have been able to secure, either by gift or purchase, material that might well have gone elsewhere. If we continue to receive this support and the support of our nonmember friends, then the Library has every reason to look forward to profitable days.

Stephen T. Riley
Librarian

The President announced that the Second Spring Reception would be held in the building on the afternoon of Friday, May 1, 1953.

After the President had stated that the Third Annual Dinner of the Society would be held at the Club of Odd Volumes at seven o'clock, the Society adjourned.

November Meeting, 1952

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 13, at three o'clock in the afternoon, President Adams in the chair.

The minutes of the meeting and of the Annual Meeting on October 9 were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance of Resident Membership from Godfrey Lowell Cabot, of Boston.

The Treasurer reported that as a result of the Third Annual Appeal, twenty-two Members had contributed $2,920.00, and that the total in the Endowment Fund to date amounted to $33,205.69, including two special funds, the Mark Bortman Fund and the James Duncan Phillips Fund.

The President announced the death at New Haven, Connecticut, of Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, on October 20, 1952, an Honorary Member since January 13, 1927; and of Sir Reginald Coupland, a Corresponding Member since February 10, 1938, who dropped dead at Southampton, England, on November 6, 1952.

The Director commented on the career and the great work of Rostovtzeff, and, in particular, on his sole appearance before an audience of eighteen Members of the Society on the afternoon of May 10, 1929, when he read a paper on "The Civilization of the Euphrates Valley in the Christian Era and the Middle Ages," showing maps and photographs of excavations by means of lantern slides, and added that four Members of the Society who had heard that paper—Fuess, Stephen Willard Phillips, Schlesinger, and Washburn—were still alive. By way of tribute to the genius of Rostovtzeff, the Director read several small portions of "The Decay of Ancient Civilization," the concluding part of the last chapter of the historian's masterpiece, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, which appeared in 1926.

The Director reported accessions to the Cabinet and the Library:

From Thomas Robson Morse, of South Lincoln, seven letters written by Robert Gould Shaw to Colonel Charles Fessenden Morse in 1863.

From Sidvin Frank Tucker, of Winthrop, a genealogical chart of the Winthrop family, and a program and typewritten manuscript of the play *A Puritan Father* by Eleanor Dawson, presented at the Winthrop Tercentenary Commemoration, Groton, Suffolk, England, in 1949.

From Mrs. Richard Vaughan, of Princeton, New Jersey, photographs of Donald and Ann (Calhoun) Kennedy, and a daguerreotype of Edward Thompson Taylor, better known as "Father" Taylor.

The Director then submitted a brief statement of the cost of the Third Annual Dinner of the Society given at the Club of Odd Volumes, 77 Mount Vernon Street, on the evening of October 9, 1952, explaining that because of the generosity of the twenty-two hosts and the frugality of Mr. Whitehill and himself, there remained in the Treasury of the Society from the dinners of 1951 and 1952, a balance of $69.13.

The President read the list of the Standing Committees which he had appointed for the Society for 1952–1953:

Finance: John Adams, *Chairman ex officio*; Albert Francis Bigelow, James Melville Hunnewell, and Ralph Lowell.

House: Parkman Dexter Howe, *Chairman*; Chauncey Cushing Nash and Carleton Rubira Richmond.

Library: Lee Max Friedman, *Chairman*; Henry Latimer Seaver and Vernon Dale Tate.

Meetings: Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, *Chairman*; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and William Alexander Jackson.

Membership: John Adams, *Chairman*; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Chauncey Cushing Nash, Walter Muir Whitehill, and Stewart Mitchell.

Publications: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *Chairman*; Samuel Eliot Morison, Clifford Kenyon Shipton, Walter Muir Whitehill, Robert Earle Moody, and Stewart Mitchell.

The President reported that the Council on the recommendation of its Committee of Membership had voted to submit the following nominations, these nominations to be acted on at the stated meeting of the Society on December 11, 1952:

For Resident Membership: John Quincy Adams, of Dover, and Waldo Gifford Leland, of Newton.

For Corresponding Membership: Francis Brown, of New York City.

Professor Dexter Perkins, of the University of Rochester, New York, then read a paper entitled, "Diplomacy and Popular Government," tracing the course of events through which Presidents Monroe, Wilson, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt had guided the foreign policy of the United States in regard to the acceptance by the American People of the Monroe Doctrine and the participation in the First and Second World Wars. Professor Perkins concluded by expressing his belief that popular opinion, though slow in growth and very difficult to change, and even more so to manage, was, after all, sure and most likely in the long run to be wise.[18]

After a number of interesting comments on the paper and questions to Professor Perkins by various Members, the Society adjourned.

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[18] Printed in this volume, 184–202.

December Meeting, 1952

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 11, 1952, at three o'clock in the afternoon, President Adams in the chair.

The minutes of the stated meeting of November 13 were read and approved.

Mr. Allan Forbes having been compelled to leave the meeting of the Council early, the President made the monthly report of the Treasurer on additions to the Endowment Fund.

Mr. Adams announced the death at Naples on November 20, 1952, of Benedetto Croce, an Honorary Member of the Society since 1933.

The Director made the monthly report on accessions to the Library and the Cabinet and commented on the character and the career of Benedetto Croce, asking, in conclusion, for contributions to the cost of purchasing for the Library of the Society the new edition of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* to be published by the Rutgers University Press on February 12, 1953.

Accessions reported were the following:

From Ellis Wethrell Brewster, a volume printed by Elder William Brewster, Thomas Cartwright, *A Confutation of the Rhemists* . . . ([Leyden], 1618).

From Dr. Joseph Edward Fields, of Joliet, Illinois, a volume containing *The Charter . . . of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England* (Boston, 1714) and the *Acts and Laws, of Her Majesties Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England* (Boston, 1714). The volume belonged to Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and has his autograph on the title-page.

From Claude Moore Fuess, a large engraved portrait of Rufus Choate, copyrighted and published by Henry A. Martin (Ambler, Pennsylvania, 1902).

From Miss Elizabeth A. Huebener, of Dorchester, an epitome of the book by Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* . . . ([Dublin?], 1683) in the handwriting of Nathaniel Clap, dated May 21, 1684.

From Mrs. Stanley McCormick, of Boston, a lithographed portrait of William Wirt and a manuscript letter written by him on January 19, 1801.

From Mrs. Lawrence Shaw Mayo, of Brookline, a letter written by Thomas Hutchinson to Royal Tyler, dated at Milton, May 27, 1764, about the poverty of some of the French people in Boston.

By purchase: a unique issue of the *Boston News-Letter*, dated May 29, 1710.

John Quincy Adams, of Dover, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, STEPHEN T. RILEY speaking as sponsor.

Waldo Gifford Leland, of Newton, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, WALTER M. WHITEHILL speaking as sponsor.

Francis Brown, of New York City, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, STEWART MITCHELL speaking as sponsor.

RICHARD WALDEN HALE, Jr., then read a paper entitled "The American and Irish Revolutions,"[19] tracing the similarities and dissimilarities between the hopes and resolves of the American rebels of the eighteenth century and the Irish rebels of the twentieth century; after which followed a spirited discussion as to the possible result of British victory over the thirteen colonies and a revocation of the Declaration of Independence.

The President then called on Dean HENRY B. WASHBURN, who explained briefly the contents of the scrapbook compiled by James Morris Whiton which he presented to the Society at the stated meeting in November, 1952.

January Meeting, 1953

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on the afternoon of Thursday, January 8, 1953, at three o'clock, Vice-President M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE in the chair.

The minutes of the stated meeting for December 11 were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received acceptances of election to Resident Membership from JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, of Dover, and WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, of Newton; and of election to Corresponding Membership from FRANCIS BROWN, of New York City.

The Treasurer reported on the Endowment Fund as follows:

I. Gifts and Legacies from Members	$26,187.00
II. Gifts and Legacies from Non-Members . . .	7,813.00

And Gifts to Special Funds:

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[19] Printed in this volume, 50–55.

Mark Bortman	500.00
James Duncan Phillips	1,150.00
Total	$35,650.00

The Director presented his monthly report, commenting on the collection of military paper money given to the Society by the Treasurer, Allan Forbes, and on the gift of a chair from the office of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia from the Estate of the late Theodora Cabot.

From Alexander McElwain, an album of photographs of the members of the Harvard Class of 1856.

From Mrs. Mary E. Jones, of Brighton, a silver medal bearing the likeness of Isaac Hull issued by Congress in 1813 to commemorate the victory of the *Constitution* over the *Guerrière*.

By purchase: a rare pamphlet, Thomas Parker, *The True Copy of a Letter: written by Mr. Thomas Parker . . . Declaring his Judgement touching the Government practised in the Churches of New-England* (London, 1644).

The Director stated that his appeal for donations for the purchase of the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,* at a cost of $85.00, had resulted in total gifts of $105.00 from eleven Resident Members and that he had turned over the surplus of $20.00 to the Librarian.

At the request of the Director, Mr. Riley read his monthly report of accessions, commenting on his purchase for the Library of a rare pamphlet by Thomas Parker which had been offered for sale in the catalogues of two booksellers at a striking difference of price.

Mr. M. A. DeWolfe Howe then called on the Society for action on the election of new Members.

Henry Morse Channing, of Sherborn, was elected a Resident Member, Judge Robert Walcott speaking as his sponsor.

Roger Ernst, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member, Chauncey Cushing Nash speaking as his sponsor.

Peter Oliver, of Mount Kisco, New York, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, William Alexander Jackson speaking as his sponsor.

Keith Grahame Feiling was elected to Honorary Membership, the Director speaking as his sponsor.

The Duke of Alba was transferred from Corresponding Membership to Honorary Membership, Walter Muir Whitehill speaking as his sponsor.

Claude Moore Fuess read a paper entitled "Witches at Andover," explaining the background of the mania which infested the suburbs of Salem in 1692.[20]

After remarks from various Members, the Society then adjourned.

February Meeting, 1953

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 12, 1953, Mr. Grinnell in the chair, and Walter Muir Whitehill, Cabinet-Keeper, acting as Recording Secretary *pro tempore.*

The minutes of the meeting for January 8 were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Henry Morse Channing, of Sherborn, and Roger Ernst, of Brookline; and of election to Corresponding Membership from Peter Oliver, of Mount Kisco, New York; and of election to Honorary Membership from the Duke of Alba and from Keith Feiling.

The Director, speaking for Mr. Forbes, who was unavoidably absent, reported that the Endowment Fund amounted to date to $35,203, an increase of $1,203 since the last meeting of the Society.

The Director read the report of the monthly accessions to the Cabinet and to the Library and showed the Members nine volumes of *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* which had been purchased by contributions, stating that the tenth volume containing the complete Index would be delivered to the Society in May.

From Herman L. Feer, of Brookline, retained copies of two letters written by Governor Joseph Dudley on March 25, 1706, claiming jurisdiction for the Admiralty Court over the disposal of drift whales.

From Lewis Gannett, of Rochester, New York, a number of letters written by John Torrey Morse, Jr., to the Reverend William C. Gannett, July 10, 1920–November 6, 1921.

From Mrs. Weston Howland, of Milton, a small collection of the papers of the Dabney family, 1716–1892.

From Albert West, of Boston, a photostat of the Journal kept by Governor Thomas Pownall on his expedition to Maine to initiate the building of the fort on the Penobscot, May 4–28, 1759.

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[20] Printed in this volume, 8–20.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported that he was sending out written requests to fifty-six Resident Members of the Society for photographs of these Members for the archives of the Cabinet, in accordance with the practice of the Society during the past one hundred years.

Henry Forbush Howe read a paper entitled "Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760," describing the experiences of a Yankee from Cohasset taken verbatim from one of two logs which James kept of his various voyages and which is now in private hands in Cohasset.[21]

After remarks by various Members on the early maturity and acceptance of responsibility by men and women of that generation and on the famous Yankee quality of understatement and simple description of great events, and a denunciation by the Chairman of the modern-day despotism of bureaucracy based on Keaton's *The Passing of Parliament*, the Society adjourned.

March Meeting, 1953

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, March 12, 1953, President Adams in the chair.

The minutes of the meeting for February 12 were read and approved.

The Treasurer reported that the Endowment Fund now amounted to $35,303, an increase of only $100.00 during the month.

The President announced the death at Champaign, Illinois, on February 20, 1953, of James Garfield Randall, biographer of Abraham Lincoln, and a Corresponding Member of the Society since February 12, 1948.

The Director reported the accessions to the Cabinet and the Library and read the last letter ever written by Alexander Hamilton on July 10, 1804, to Theodore Sedgwick, of Stockbridge, the original of which was presented to the Society in 1914.

From William Amory, of Boston, a letterbook kept by the firm of John and Thomas Amory and Company from October 18, 1789, to July 9, 1795, and a deed of sale of land in Salem by Samuel Ruck to Samuel Gardner, January 6, 1700.

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[21] Printed in this volume, 33–49.

From Dr. John H. Cunningham, of Brookline, a copy of *The Holy Bible . . .* (New York, 1815) which belonged to Samuel Breck Parkman.

From Miss Alice B. Lovett, of Cambridge, two Noble and Greenough medals and several miscellaneous printed pieces.

From Mrs. Ralph Lowell, of Westwood, two cabinet photographs of Walter Channing (1786–1876) and William Ellery Channing (1818–1901).

From Mrs. Dorothy G. Wayman, of Jamaica Plain, a small collection of printed books relating to the history of Cape Cod.

From Albert West, of Boston, a photostat of a journal kept by Joseph Chadwick in 1764 of a survey from Penobscot to Quebec.

The Director called attention to the publication of *Proceedings* 68 covering the meetings from 1944 to 1947; explaining the series of accidents which had delayed the appearance of the volume, and stated that *Proceedings* 69 would cover the meetings from 1947 to 1950, and that the cost of both *Proceedings* 68 and 69 would be met from the income of special funds set aside for that purpose.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported that only sixteen Resident Members out of fifty-six had sent him the photographs which he had requested.

MARK BORTMAN read a paper entitled "The New Jerusalem and the Puritan Fathers." After interesting comments by various Members, the Society adjourned.

April Meeting, 1953

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, April 9, 1953, President ADAMS in the chair.

The minutes of the meeting of March 12 were read and approved.

The Director, speaking for the Treasurer, who was unavoidably absent, stated that the total gifts to the Endowment Fund to date amounted to $35,653, but that an additional $2,500 had been given for Special Funds, bringing the total of gifts to the Society to $38,153.

The President announced that he had appointed as a Nominating Committee to prepare the ballot for the Annual Meeting on October 8, 1953, the following Resident Members: PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE, *Chairman*, ROBERT EARLE MOODY, HENRY LATIMER SEAVER.

The Director read the monthly report of accessions to the Cabinet and the Library, and called the attention of those present to the fact that WARREN GAGE WHEELER, Assistant Librarian of the Society, would on April 14, 1953, complete forty years of service to the Society.

From Lewis Gannett, of Rochester, New York, a collection of papers of the Reverend Ezra Stiles Gannett (1801–1871). The collection includes his journals and correspondence with such figures as William Ellery Channing (1780–1842), John Cordner, Harriet Martineau, and the Reverend Henry Ware.

From Mrs. Weston Howland, of Milton, a small collection of Dabney papers to be added to those which she gave to the Society in February, 1953.

From the family of the late Mark Norris, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, six letters from Artemas Ward (1727–1800) to Henry Dana Ward for the period 1794–1796, and one letter from Artemas Ward, Jr., to Henry Dana Ward, dated May 28, 1813.

By purchase: a microfilm copy of the *Providence Gazette*, 1762–1826.

Mr. RILEY exhibited the prints of the four Indian Kings and spoke briefly about them.

OSCAR HANDLIN, of Harvard University, then read a paper entitled "American Views of the Past,"[22] which provoked a series of interesting comments and questions from the floor by Messrs. T. B. ADAMS, BEMIS, DEWING, MORISON, and NORTHROP.

May Meeting, 1953

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 14, 1953, President ADAMS in the chair.

The minutes of the meeting for April 9 were read and approved.

The Treasurer reported that $600 had been added to the Endowment Fund since the latest meeting and that the total additions to the capital of the Society now stood as follows:

Endowment Fund	$36,253.00
James Duncan Phillips Fund	3,673.58
Channing-Minot Fund	1,000.00
Mark Bortman Fund	500.00

making a total of $41,426.58.

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[22] Printed in this volume, 227–236.

On the motion of the Treasurer "it was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society."

Mr. Adams reported that John Marshall Phillips, a Corresponding Member of the Society since March 8, 1951, had died suddenly in New York City, on May 7, 1953, at the age of 48.

The President stated that he had asked the Director to have refreshments after the meeting served in the future in the Museum rather than in the office of the Society, and called the attention of the members to his decision.

The Director reported the accessions to the Library and urged all Resident Members to send in photographs of themselves for the file of the Cabinet, stating that he regretted that some of the Resident Members seemed reluctant to comply with the request of Mr. Whitehill.

By purchase: a small collection of manuscripts containing letters by William Ellery Channing (1780–1842), Lydia Maria Child, Francis Parkman, and Wendell Phillips; a rare pamphlet, Solomon Stoddard, *The Inexcusableness of Neglecting the Worship of God* . . . (Boston, 1708), and an unrecorded Massachusetts proclamation broadside, *By His Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esq.* . . . *A Proclamation* . . . [concerning the return of French and Indian prisoners of war] (Boston, 1713).

The Director reported that 127 Members and guests had attended the Spring Reception of the Society on the first of May in spite of the downpour of rain.

Michael Joseph Walsh then read a paper on "Some of the Treasures of the Massachusetts Historical Society," describing the negotiations by which the late Matt B. Jones and Allyn B. Forbes and he had added to the Library.[23] After Mr. Walsh had completed the reading of his paper, Messrs. T. B. Adams, Grinnell, Jackson, J. D. Phillips, Seaver, and Viets diverted the Members with their anecdotes and opinions, after which the Members adjourned to the Museum.

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[23] Printed in this volume, 248–262.

Corrections

Proceedings 69: Page xv, *for* November 1, 1955 *read* May 10, 1956
Page 197, line 1, *for* Chauncey *read* Chauncy
Page 202, lines 25 and 29, *for* Chauncey *read* Chauncy
Page 325, *lower the first line of footnote 6*
Page 368, line 20, *for* on *read* of
Page 512, line 18, for *Fortuite* read *Fortuita*

Index

Index

ABBEY Theatre, 53.
Abbot, Abiel, 19.
Abbott, Josiah Gardner (1815–1891), 318.
Abbott Family, papers, 318.
Aboukir, H. M. S., 145.
Abraham, Battle of the Plains of, 33, 34.
Acheson, Sec. Dean Gooderham, 199–200.
Act of Union, 1800, 52.
Adair, Douglass, 358.
Adams, Abigail (Smith), 29, 30, 257.
Adams, Brooks (1848–1927), 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 231, 232, 236, 323, 345.
Adams, Charles (1770–1800), correspondence with his father, Pres. John Adams, 306, 323, 334.
Adams, Charles, Jr., 311.
Adams, Charles Francis (1807–1886), 28, 30, 31, 64, 279, 281, 310.
Adams, Charles Francis (1835–1915), 27, 28, 235, 242, 279, 280, 281, 308, 309, 318, 322, 324, 329; *Autobiography*, 27, 31; letter to J. F. Rhodes, 146–147. *See* paper on, by Stewart Mitchell, 144–147.
Adams, Charles Francis (1866–1954), 31, 280, 358.
Adams, Charles Francis, The Society "Beats," 1914, paper by Stewart Mitchell, 144–147.
Adams, Elsie, gifts, 300.
Adams, Henry (1838–1918), 27, 28, 31, 32, 103, 104, 231, 232, 235, 279, 292, 310; library, 304.
Adams, Henry (1875–1951), 334; memoir by Samuel Flagg Bemis, 279–281; gifts, 281, 306; tributes, 321–323, 330; death, 330.
Adams, Henry [1838–1918], The Education of, 27, 31, 32.
Adams, Lieut. Henry S., 300.
Adams, Pres. John (1735–1826), 27, 29, 30, 31, 157, 257, 279, 353; correspondence with his son Charles, 306, 323, 334.
Adams, John (*b.* 1875), President, 279, 308, 309, 311, 312, 313, 314, 317, 319, 321, 322, 323, 324, 326, 327, 328, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 350, 353, 354, 355, 356, 358, 359, 362, 377, 378, 380, 381, 384, 385, 386, 387; on Committees: Special, on Finances, 302, Finance, 309, 344, 378, Membership, 310, 344, 379; gifts, 349, 353.
Adams, Pres. John Quincy (1767–1848), 28, 29–30, 31, 58, 185, 187, 188, 189, 196, 349.
Adams, John Quincy (1833–1894), 27, 28, 31, 321.
Adams, John Quincy, 358; Resident Member, 379, 381.
Adams, Marian (Morse), 351; gift, 355.
Adams, Mary Hone (Ogden), 279.
Adams, Randolph Greenfield, death, 313, 330; tribute, 331.
Adams, Robert Lee, 302.
Adams, Thomas Boylston, 356, 358, 386, 387; Resident Member, 347, 349, 362.
Adams National Historic Site, 27, 281, 358–359.
Adams Papers, 257, 280, 323, 358–359.
Adamses at Quincy, paper, by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, 27–32, 314.
Addison, Rev. Daniel Dulany, 357, 376–377.
Addison, Joseph, 22.
Addison, Julia Dulany, gifts, 357, 376–377.
Adee, Alvey Augustus, 184.
Adenauer, Konrad, 173, 182.
Agassiz, Alexander, 310.
Agassiz, George Russell, death, 314, 330; tribute, 330.
Aiuppa, Joseph, 150.
Alabama, return of fragment of Confederate flag to, 338.
Alabaster, Bridget (Winthrop), 3.
Alabaster, Roger, 3.
Alabaster, William, A Forgotten Member

of the Winthrop Family, paper, by Charles H. McIlwain, 3–7, 353–354.
Alanbrooke, Field Marshal the Viscount, 217, 218.
Alba, Duke of, Honorary Member, 382, 383.
Albany Plan of Union (1754), 51.
Alciphron: or, the Minute Philosopher, by Dean George Berkeley, 23, 24.
Alden, John, 18.
Aldie, Va., 68, 70, 71–72, 75.
Alexandria, Va., 97, 98.
Alger, Alpheus B., 121.
Allegiance, H. M. S., 345.
Allen, Cardinal William, 5.
Allen, Mrs. ———, 10.
Allston, Washington, 63.
Alsace-Lorraine, 171, 178.
Altimira y Crevea, Rafael, death, 344, 363.
American and Irish Revolutions, The, paper, by R. W. Hale, Jr., 50–55, 381.
American Churches, The Old Silver of, by E. A. Jones, 269.
American Views of the Past, paper, by Oscar Handlin, 227–236, 386.
Ames, Gov. Oliver, 117.
Amherst, Gen. Jeffery, 1st Baron Amherst of Holmesdale, *etc.*, 33, 34, 42, 44, 48.
Ammidon, Philip, 321.
Amnesty and Reconstruction, Proclamation of, 95–96.
Amory, Lieut. Charles W., 72.
Amory, John and Thomas, and Co., 384.
Amory, William, gift, 384.
Amsterdam, 47.
Anderson *v.* Dunn, 149.
Andover, Witches at, paper, by Claude Moore Fuess, 8–20, 383.
Andover Theological Seminary, 9.
Andrew, John Albion, 318.
Andrews, Rev. E. Benjamin, 136.
Andrews Family, papers, 300.
Anne, of Great Britain, 350.
Anse au Foulon (Wolfe's Cove), 33.
Anthology Society, later the Boston Athenæum, 25.
Anthony, Robenia F., 150.
Anthony, Susan B., 134.
Anticosti Island, Que., 37, 46.
Antietam, 93.
Antigua, 47.
Apes, William, 300.
Apple Island, Que., 38.
Appomattox, 79, 101.
Arbuthnot, Dr. John, 22.
Argentina, 162, 163, 166, 167, 170, 187, 189.
Arkansas, question of slavery in, 86–87, 98, 101.
Ashby's Gap, Va., 68.
Astley, Philip, 261, 353, 374.
Atkinson, ———, 41.
Atlantic Neptune, plans to print plates from, 323, 338.
Atlantic Union, by C. K. Streit, 173.
Augusta, U. S. N., 221, 222.
Austria, 52, 175.
Autograph Collectors, National Society of, 351, 362.

BADEAU, Adam, 80, 81.
Bailey, Rev. Jacob (1731–1818), 358.
Baker, Kenneth H., gift, 338.
Baker, Ralph J., 282*n.*, 284.
Baker-Holroyd, John, Earl of Sheffield, 146.
Balfour, Arthur James, 1st Earl of Balfour, 53.
Balkan wars (1912–1913), 171.
Ballard, Joseph, 11.
Baltimore, 88.
Bancroft, Frederic, 311.
Bancroft, George, 228, 229; papers, 246.
Bancroft, Richard (1544–1610), Archbishop of Canterbury, 5.
Banks, Gen. Nathaniel P., 100.
Barber, John Warner, 345.
Barham, 1st Baron, Charles Middleton, 205*n.*, 210*n.*
Barker, William, 13.
Barker, ———, 16.
Barnard, ———, 16.
Barrell, Joseph, letter-book, 349.
Barrett, William E., 125.
Barrett, ———, 111, 112.

Bass, Gov. Robert P., 368, 371.
Bastille, Mrs. Dorothy Quincy, gift, 300.
Bates, John L., 113.
Bates, Commander Mordecai, 48.
Bathurst, Allen, First Earl Bathurst, 22.
Bay Islands, 190.
Bay Psalm Book, 250, 257, 261.
Beard, Alanson W., 108, 112, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121, 127.
Beecher, Henry Ward, 292.
Belcher, Gov. Jonathan, 241, 357, 375.
Belfast, 53.
Belgium, 144–145, 178. *See also*, Benelux.
Belize, British Honduras, 190.
Belknap, Jeremy, papers, 240–241, 243.
Bellona, steamboat, 376.
Bellows, Robert Peabody, Resident Member, 356, 357, 362.
Bemis, Samuel Flagg, 359, 386; memoir of Henry Adams (1875–1951), 279–281; gift, 306.
Benedict, E. C., 133, 134.
Benelux, 178, 181.
Berkeley, Anne (Forster), 21.
Berkeley, George, Bishop of Cloyne, 336; paper on, by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, 21–27, 314.
Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven, Conn., 26.
Berkshire Courier, 124.
Bermuda, college in, planned by Dean Berkeley, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.
Bernard, Gov. Francis, 243.
Betsey, schooner, 45.
Beveridge, Albert Jeremiah, 311.
Beverley Ferry, license (1783), 313.
Bic Island, Que., 37.
Bigelow, Albert Francis, President, 297, 350; on Committees: Finance, 303, 309, 324–325, 344, 348–349, 378, Nominating, 323, 327; retiring as President, 307.
Bigelow, Jacob, 63.
Bigot, François, 48.
Big Pebble, U. S. N., 221*n.*
Billerica, 10.
Bill of Rights, 150, 156, 157.
Billyou, De Forest, 284.
Bishop, George P., 114.
Blackstone Manufacturing Co., account book, 327.
Blaine, James G., 100, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 123, 125, 129.
Blair, F. P., 76.
Bliss Family, papers, 321.
Blodget, Samuel, 260.
Blower, Thomas, 311.
Blum, Leon, 174.
Boardman, Francis, 113.
Bogotá, 163.
Bok, Edward, 135.
Bolívar, Simon, 166.
Bolivia, 158, 162, 163.
Bolton, Charles Edward, 271.
Bolton, Charles Knowles, memoir, by Clifford Kenyon Shipton, 271–273; death, 297, 305; diaries, 310.
Bolton, Ethel (Stanwood), 273; gift, 310.
Bolton, Geoffrey, 273.
Bolton, Sarah Elizabeth (Knowles), 271.
Bolton, Stanwood Knowles, 273.
Bonn Parliament, 173, 182.
Boone, Daniel, portrait, 353, 364.
Bora Bora, 205, 206.
Borah, Sen. William Edgar, 148, 197.
Bordeaux, French convoy from (1760), 38.
Borland, Leonard Vassall, 29.
Bortman, Mark, Resident Member, 313, 315, 316, 330; Fund, 355, 377, 382, 386; paper, The New Jerusalem and the Puritan Fathers, 385.
Boston, Mass., 28, 30, 35, 39, 45, 46, 47, 48, 65, 73, 103, 104, 347; papers of Overseers of the Poor (1733–1854), 311; manuscript maps of, before 1800, 358; records of early inhabitants, 358.
Boston Athenæum, 25, 31, 221, 244.
Boston Bootmakers' Case, notes on, 318.
Boston Daily Advertiser, 108, 111, 112, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122.
Boston Daily Globe, 112, 121*n.*, 125.
Boston Evening Post, 312.
Boston Evening Traveler, 118.
Boston Gazette, 124, 312.
Boston Herald, 129.

Boston Journal, 111, 116, 117, 118, 119, 122, 124, 125.
Boston News-Letter, 249, 312.
Boston Post-Boy, 249.
Boston Public Library, 31.
Bougainville, de, Louis Antoine, 42, 48.
Bounties, for army recruits, 65.
Bourlamaque, François Charles, Chevalier de, 42, 48.
Bowditch, Harold, on Council, 309, 328; on Nominating Committee, 359.
Bowdoin, James, 347.
Boyd, Col. John Parker, 354.
Boyd, Julian Parks, 358–359.
Boze, Joseph, 337.
Brackett, Gov. John Q. A., 108.
Braden, Spruille, 165.
Bradford, Alden, gift, 242.
Bradford, Gov. William (1590–1657), of Plymouth Colony, 347.
Bradford, William (1663–1752), printer, 249.
Bradstreet, Anne, 261.
Bradstreet, Justice Dudley, 12, 13, 16, 18.
Bradstreet, Gov. Simon (1603–1697), 12.
Bradstreet, Simon (1640–1683), 340.
Brandegee, Edward D., 368.
Brattle, Thomas, 17, 349.
Brazil, 162, 164, 170.
Breed, William, silversmith, 328, 363.
Brewer, Mrs. Charles, gift, 354.
Brewster, Ellis Wethrell, Resident Member, 351, 353, 362; gift, 380.
Brewster, John, 336.
Brewster, Elder William, 380.
Briggs, Dean Le Baron Russell, 208*n*.
Briggs, Gov. George N., of Mass., 312, 313.
Brigham, Clarence Saunders, 250.
Brinley, George, 251.
Brinton, Crane, Resident Member, 317, 330.
Brisco, Joseph, 260.
Brit, Capt. ———, 46.
British Guiana, 191.
Brooklyn Eagle, 136.
Brooklyn Museum, loan to, 336.
Brooklyn Standard Union, 124.
Brooks, Rev. Edward (1733–1781), 357.
Brooks, Edward, gifts, 357.
Brooks, Frances, 357.
Brooks, Peter Chardon, 30, 357.
Brown, Davenport, Resident Member, 355, 362.
Brown, Francis, Corresponding Member, 379, 381.
Brown, Rev. John (1696–1742), 357.
Brownell, Herbert, Jr., 156.
Bruce, James, 8th Earl of Elgin, 50.
Brunswick, Me., 36.
Bryan, William Jennings, 140, 142.
Bryant, Sir Arthur, 216, 217.
Bryce, James, Viscount Bryce, 278, 315, 320.
Bryon, Capt. ———, 38.
Buchan, John, 55.
Buck, Capt. Jonathan, 318.
Buenos Ayres, 162, 165, 169, 193, 194.
Bulkeley, Edward, 349.
Bulkeley, Peter, 349.
Bullard, Calvin, 293.
Bullard, Clara Elizabeth (Keil), 293.
Bullard, Edward Lauriston, 293.
Bullard, Frederic Keil, 293.
Bullard, Frederic Lauriston, 293.
Bullard, Frederic Lauriston (1866–1952), paper, Hampton Roads, Before and After, 76–101; memoir by Elwin L. Page, 290–293; death, 358, 363.
Bullard, Hannah (Griffin), 293.
Bullard, Helen Maria (Ballard), 293.
Bullard, Robert Paul, 293.
Bull Moose Party, 108, 126, 135.
Burchard, Rev. Samuel Dickinson, 129.
Burden, ———, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116.
Burdett, Joseph O., 114, 115.
Burgis, William, 336.
Burke, Admiral Arleigh A., 206.
Burma, 50.
Burnett, Elizabeth L., 334.
Burns, Robert, 61, 147.
Burns, Lieut. Walter, 72.
Burroughs, Rev. George, 11, 14.

Bushnell, John, 255.
Butler, Benjamin F., 89, 99, 102, 106, 109, 113, 118, 321.
Butler, Samuel, Bishop of Lichfield, 335.
Butterfield, Lyman Henry, 358–359; Corresponding Member, 347, 349, 363.
Buxton, Frank W., 314.
Buzzard's Bay, 128, 129, 130, 133, 136, 137.
Byles, Polly, gift, 241.
Byrd, William, 22–23.
Byron, George Gordon, 6th Baron Byron, 61.

CABOT, A. W., gifts, 355–356.
Cabot, Edward Twistleton, 356.
Cabot, Godfrey Lowell, Resident Member, 358, 377.
Cabot, J. Elliott, 356.
Cabot, Samuel, Resident Member, 356, 357, 362.
Cabot, Theodora, bequest of, 382.
Cadiz, 3.
Calef, Robert, 249.
California, 348; Union soldiers from, in the Civil War, 66, 67–68, 69, 70.
California, University of, 26–27.
Cambridge, papers of selectmen (1763–1843), 311.
Cambridge University, 63.
Campbell, Judge John A., 76.
Campian, Robert Parsons, 5.
Canada, 143; early imprints of, 255. *See* Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760, by H. F. Howe, 33–49.
Canada, The Fight for, by William Wood, 34.
Canfield, Dorothy, 10.
Cannon, Joseph G., 123.
Cape Cod, 46, 385.
Cape Fear, N. C., 35, 36.
Cape Sable, N. S., 37.
Cape Sambro, N. S., 37.
Carlisle, John G., Sec. of Treasury, 123, 137–138, 139, 142.
Carlisle, Earl of. *See* Frederick Howard.
Carrier, Martha, and her children, 10, 11, 12, 14, 19.
Carrier, Thomas, 10, 19.
Carroll, Clarissa (Alden), 266.
Carroll, Sanford, 266.
Carson, Sir Edward Henry, 54.
Cartwright, Thomas, 6, 380.
Cary, Mrs. Thomas G., 326.
Casablanca, 216.
Castlereagh, Viscount. *See* Robert Stewart.
Cato, by Joseph Addison, 22.
Caulfield, James, Earl of Charlemont, 50.
Census of 1950, Congressional Reapportionment Under the, paper by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., 237–239.
Centerville, Va., 68.
Chadbourn, Jonathan C., 321.
Chadbourne, Dr. T. L., gifts, 321, 357.
Chadwell, Capt. Benjamin, 46, 47.
Chadwick, Joseph, journal, 385.
Chadwick, Paul, 327.
Chafee, Zechariah, Jr., 103, 312, 325–326, 348, 352; paper by, Congressional Reapportionment Under the Census of 1950, 237–239; memoir of Edwin Merrick Dodd, 282–289; on Committees: Meetings, 307, 310, 344, 379, Membership, 310, 344, 379; Vice-President, 308, 314, 316, 327, 348, 359; gift, 345.
Chaleur, Bay of, 34, 38.
Channing, Edward, 146, 282.
Channing, Francis Dana, 58.
Channing, Henry Morse, Resident Member, 382, 383.
Channing, Katharine (Minot), deposit, 356.
Channing, Walter, 385.
Channing, William Ellery (1780–1842), 63, 386, 387.
Channing, William Ellery (1818–1901), 385.
Channing-Minot Fund, 386.
Chantilly, Va., 68.
Chapman, Capt. Samuel, 73–74.
Chapultepec Conference (1945), 166, 199.
Charlemagne, 171.

Charlemont, Earl of. *See* James Caulfield.
Charles I, of England, 77.
Charleston, S. C., 206.
Chase, Philip Putnam, 311, 352; paper, A Crucial Juncture in the Political Careers of Lodge and Long, 102–127; on Nominating Committee, 307, 308; gift, 316.
Chauncy, Charles, 311; portrait, 337.
Chenery, Lieut. Richard, 313.
Chicago, 230; World's Fair (1893), 135.
Child, Francis James, 64.
Child, Lydia Maria, 387.
Childers, Erskine, 55.
Childs, Charles Dyer, Resident Member, 355, 362.
Childs, Ruth L. S., gift, 300.
Chile, 164, 167, 187.
China, 198.
Choate, Rufus, 380.
Christian Science Monitor, 151, 154.
Church, Col. Benjamin, 259–260.
Church, Thomas, 259–260.
Church, Capt. ———, 36.
Churchill, Lord Randolph, 53.
Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer, 53, 174, 216.
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 23.
Cincinnati, 150.
CINCLANT, 222.
C I O Unions, 151.
City of God, by St. Augustine, 171.
Civil Service, 103, 106, 116; reform of, 311.
Civil War, 28, 30, 31, 146, 190, 214, 233, 235, 330; papers and books in M. H. S., 243–244. *See* papers: by A. S. Pier on Major Forbes and Col. Mosby, 65–75; and Hampton Roads, Before and After, by F. Lauriston Bullard, 76–101.
Claflin, Gov. William, 357.
Claflin, William Henry, Jr., Resident Member, 327, 330, 344, 362.
Clap, Nathaniel, 380.
Clark, Joshua Reuben, Memorandum, 193.
Clarke, Arthur French, 269.
Clarke, Dorothy Locke (Johnson), 269.
Clarke, Hermann Frederick, memoir, by Henry Wilder Foote, 269–270.
Clay, Henry, 88, 126, 353.
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 190.
Cleveland, Frances (Folsom), 128, 129, 134.
Cleveland, Pres. Grover, 31, 103, 123, 190, 191, 326; paper on, by Robert Lincoln O'Brien, 128–143, 314, 315.
Cleveland, Rev. William N., 136.
Cleveland Plain Dealer, 138.
Clinton, Sir Henry, 55.
Clough, Priscilla, 374–375.
Clough, Samuel C., 358, 374–375.
Cloyne School, Newport, R. I., 26.
Clune, Dr. P. J., gift, 318.
Cochran, Mary Rudd, gifts, 300.
Codman, Charles R., 326.
Codman, John S., gift, 310, 326.
Codman Family, papers, 310.
Cogswell, Willard Goodrich, Resident Member, 317, 330.
Cohasset, 34, 35, 48, 384.
Coinage, Aspects of Ancient, paper by A. S. Dewing, 312–313.
Cole, George Watson, 258.
Colin Clout's Come Home Again, by Edmund Spenser, 7.
Collective Security, Doctrine of, 202.
Collins, Capt. Isaac, portrait, 336.
Collins, Michael, 51, 54, 55.
Collins, Patrick Andrew, 121, 122.
Collins, Winifred, 302, 304.
Colombia, 163–164, 167.
Colonial Dames of America, 25.
Colonization Society, The, 88, 89.
Columbia, vessel, 349.
Columbia University (formerly King's College), 25.
COMINCH, 203–204*n.*, 206, 219.
Commager, Henry Steele, 348.
Commonwealth Club, 104, 106.
Communism, 164, 174, 175, 177, 180, 182. *See* Congressional Immunity and Privilege, paper by C. M. Fuess, 148–157.
Conant, James Bryant, 287.
Concord, Battle of, account of, 318.
Concord Iron Works, 349.

Coney, John, 269, 270.
Confederate States of America, 28; fragment of flag of, 338. *See* papers: A. S. Pier on a chapter from the Civil War, 65–75; and F. Lauriston Bullard on Hampton Roads: Before and After, 76–101.
Confiscation Acts, 77, 89, 90.
Congregational Church, 25.
Congress, Library of, 245, 246, 247; gift, 318.
Congressional Immunity and Privilege, paper by Claude Moore Fuess, 148–157, 325.
Congressional Reapportionment under the Census of 1950, paper by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., 237–239, 312.
Connecticut, and Gov. Trumbull Papers, 243, 247.
Connecticut Valley Historical Museum, loan to, 353.
Constant, Lieut. Maurice, 208, 208*n*.
Constantinople, 173–174.
Constitution, U. S. Frigate, 147, 382.
Contarini, Thomas, 22.
Continental Congress, 247.
Coolidge, Pres. Calvin, 138, 154, 192, 193.
Coolidge, Louis A., 107.
Coolidge, T. Jefferson, gift, 245.
Copley, John Singleton, 337.
Copley-Pelham Papers, 145.
Corbett, Sir Julian, 48, 205*n*.
Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D. C., loans to, 336.
Cordner, John, 386.
Coronado, 220.
Cory, Giles, 18.
Cosgrave, William Thomas, 52, 55.
Cosmographie, by Peter Heylyn, 5.
Costa Rica, 164.
Costello, Frank, 153.
Cotton, John, 300.
Coupland, Sir Reginald, death, 378.
Cow Bay, N. S., 37.
Crane, Murray, 125.
Crapo, William Wallace, 108, 118.
Crehore, Thomas, 354.
Cressy, H. M. S., 145.
Creswell, John A. J., 87.
Crimean War, 171.
Crittenden, John J., 92.
Croce, Benedetto, death, 380.
Crocker, George, 113, 114.
Croker, Richard, 130.
Crosby, John C., 121.
Cross, Samuel, 56.
Crowninshield, Maj. Caspar, 68.
Cuba, 143, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 187, 193.
Cunningham, Admiral of the Fleet Andrew Browne, 1st Bart., 217, 218.
Cunningham, Dr. John H., gift, 385.
Curtis, Benjamin R., 64.
Curtis, Charles Pelham, 214–215, 346; paper, Learning and Liquor at Harvard College, 1792–1846, 56–64, 345; Resident Member, 314, 315, 316, 330; gift, 326; on Council, 360.
Curtis, George William, 104, 106, 111, 124, 126, 321.
Curtiss, Frederic Haines, gift, 306.
Cushing, Caleb, 64.
Cushing, George M., Jr., 335.
Cushing, Grafton, 370.
Cushing, Joseph, 318.
Cushing Family, papers, 310, 311.
Czechoslovakia, 174.

DABNEY Family, papers, 383, 386.
Dail, The. *See* The American and Irish Revolutions, paper by R. W. Hale, Jr., 50–55.
Dalton, ———, 21.
Damon, Louise (Wheelwright), gifts, 337.
Dana, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, death, 305.
Dana, Richard Henry, 64, 369.
Dane, Rev. Francis, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20.
Danforth, Rev. Samuel, 261.
Dante, Alighieri, 171.
Danvers, 8.
Davis, Charles Belmont, 136, 137.
Davis, Daniel, 356.
Davis, Jefferson, 76, 85*n*.

Davis, John, 241.
Davis, L. Clarke, 133–134, 137.
Davis, Rebecca Harding, 137.
Davis, Richard Harding, 137.
Davis, Robert G., 154.
Davis, Walter Goodwin, Corresponding Member, 350, 363.
Dawes, Sen. Henry Laurens, 102*n.*, 103, 108, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 127.
Dawson, Eleanor, 378.
Daye, Stephen, 250, 257.
Deane, Charles, 242.
Declaration of Independence, first printing of, 256–257.
Deering, Frank C., 248.
De Gasperi, Alcide, 174, 176.
De Grasse, Count François Joseph Paul, 55.
Delaware, question of slavery in, 91, 92.
Democratic Party, 31. *See* paper by P. P. Chase on Lodge and Long, 102–127.
De Monarchia, by Dante, 171.
Demophilus, 257.
Denikin, Gen. Anton Ivanovich, 280, 322.
Dennis, Eugene, 150.
Denver Art Museum, loan to, 336.
DePuy, Henry F., 248.
Derry, Dean of. *See* Bishop George Berkeley.
Detroit Institute of Art, loans to, 337.
De Valera, Eamon, 55.
Devereux, Robert (1566–1600/1), Earl of Essex, 3.
DeVoto, Bernard A., 58.
Dewey, Admiral George, 226.
Dewing, Arthur Stone, 351, 352, 386; paper, Aspects of Ancient Coinage, 312; appointed Curator of Coins, 319, 337–338.
Dexter, George, portrait, 338.
Dexter, Mary Dean, gift, 338.
Dialogues, by Dean George Berkeley, 21.
Diana, frigate, 37, 40.
Dickens, Charles, 326.
Dickerson, Gov. Mahlon, 376.
Dickinson, Donald McD., 130, 138.
Dies, Martin, 153.
Dietrich, Capt. Neil K., 207.
Dimmick, Capt. ———, 36.
Diplomacy and Popular Government, paper, by Dexter Perkins, 184–202, 379.
District of Columbia, question of slavery in, 92.
Dix, James A., 318.
Dix, Gen. John A., 84, 85*n.*
Dodd, Edwin Merrick, Jr., memoir, by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., 282–289; death, 344, 363.
Dodd, Winifred (Hyde), 288, 289.
Dodge, Ernest Stanley, 315, 323, 338, 347, 350; on Council, 309, 328; on Nominating Committee, 359.
Dodge, Grenville Mellen, 321.
Dominican Republic, 150, 160, 162, 164, 192, 193.
Douai, France, 6.
Douglas, Stephen A., 89.
Downs, Joseph, 317.
Dowse, William Bradford Homer, Fund, 331, 365, 366.
Draper, Eben S., 124, 125.
Dresel, Louisa Loring, gifts, 328, 337, 345, 363.
Drowne, Shem, 336.
Dudley, Gov. Joseph, 383.
Dulles, Sec. of State John Foster, 155.
Dummer, Jeremiah, 269, 270.
Dummer, William, 261.
Duncan, Admiral Donald B., 205*n.*
Dunlap, John, 256.
Dunnell, Capt. ———, 45, 46.
DuPont, Henry Francis, Corresponding Member, 317, 318, 321, 330.
Durham, 1st Earl of. *See* John George Lambton.
Dwellers in Old Dwellings: George Berkeley at Whitehall and Adamses at Quincy, paper, by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, 21–32.
Dwight, Abigail, 356.
Dwight, Elizabeth, 356.

EAMES, Wilberforce, 252.
Early, Gen. Jubal A., 71–72.

Eberharter, Herman P., 151.
Ecce Sponsus Venit, by William Alabaster, 3.
Ecuador, 162, 164.
Edmunds, Sen. George Franklin, 106, 125.
Education of Henry Adams, The, 27, 31, 32.
Edward VII, of Great Britain, 52.
Edwards, Admiral Richard S., 204*n.*, 205, 205*n.*, 209, 216.
Egypt, 50.
Eisenhower, Pres. Dwight D., 181.
Eisler, Gerhart, 150.
Electoral College, 237.
Elgin, 8th Earl of. *See* James Bruce.
Eliot, Charles William, pres. of Harvard College, 28, 104, 110, 128, 132*n.*, 274, 318, 324.
Eliot, Ellen Derby (Peabody), 274.
Eliot, Frances Stone (Hopkinson), 274, 276.
Eliot, Rev. John, 261.
Eliot, Samuel Atkins, memoir, by Henry Wilder Foote, 274–276; death, 309, 330; tribute, 330.
Elisæis, by William Alabaster, 6.
Elizabeth I, of England, 4, 5, 6–7; Act of Supremacy of, 4.
Elizabeth Islands, Mass., 23, 36.
Emancipation Proclamation, 85, 86, 100.
Emden, German Cruiser, 145.
Emerson, Edward, 65, 66.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 61, 65.
Emerton, Ephraim, 146.
Endecott, Gov. John, 326.
Endicott, Ellen (Peabody), 129*n.*
Endicott, Marie Louise (Thoron), gift, 326.
Endicott, William C. (*d.* 1900), Sec. of War, 129*n.*, 132*n.*
Endicott, William C. (*d.* 1936), 318.
England, 171.
England, Church of, 4ff., 22, 23, 25, 26.
England, History of the Worthies of, by Thomas Fuller, 3, 7.
English, Philip, 18.
English Channel, 47.
Ernst, Roger, Resident Member, 382, 383.
Essex, Earl of. *See* Robert Devereux.
Estes, Benjamin, 318.
Estrada Doctrine, 163.
Eternal Peace, by Immanuel Kant, 171.
Ethiopia, 198.
Europe, Concert of, 171.
Europe, Council of, 174, 175, 176.
Europe, Steps Toward Federation in, paper by Sidney B. Fay, 171–183, 355.
European Coal and Steel Community, 176, 178, 179, 180, 182.
European Defense Army, 173.
European Defense Community, 176, 180, 181, 182.
European Payments Union, 178.
Eustis, Benjamin, Jr., account book (1749–1757), 316.
Everett, Edward, 63, 376; papers, 357, 376.
Everett, Louise, gift, 357, 376.
Everett, William, 123.

FALL River, boat, 137.
Fall River News, 117.
Falmouth, sloop, 46, 47.
Falls Church, Va., 70.
Faneuil, Peter, portrait and cellaret, 337.
Fanny Ellen (Fanny Ellinor), ship, 37.
Farragut, Admiral David G., 226.
Faulkner, Abigail (Dane), 13–14.
Faulkner, Abigail, 13.
Faulkner, Dorothy, 13.
Faulkner, Edmond, 13.
Faulkner, Francis, 13.
Fay, Sidney Bradshaw, paper, Steps Toward Federation in Europe, 171–183, 355.
Federation in Europe, Steps Toward, paper, by Sidney B. Fay, 171–183, 355.
Feer, Herman L., gift, 383.
Feiling, Keith Grahame, Honorary Member, 382, 383.
Felt, Benjamin F., 314.
Fenton, Roger, 4.
Field, Fred Tarbell, death, 297, 305.
Fields, Joseph Edward, gifts, 310, 357, 376, 380.

Filene's Sons Company, William, loan to, 337.
Fine Arts, Museum of, Boston, 336, 364.
First Massachusetts Cavalry, 65.
First Parish Church, Quincy, 32.
Fisheries, 35, 103, 116.
Fishers Island, N. Y., 23.
Fiske, John, 311.
Flanders, [Benjamin F.], 100.
Flint, John, 349.
Folsom, Gov. James E., of Alabama, 338.
Fonesca, Gulf of, 190.
Foote, Henry Wilder, 314; memoirs of: Hermann Frederick Clarke, 269–270, and Samuel Atkins Eliot, 274–276.
Forbes, Alexander, 348.
Forbes, Allan, Treasurer, 328, 344, 346, 349, 350, 354, 359, 364, 365, 377, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387; gift, 354, 363; report, 360.
Forbes, Allyn Bailey, 251, 254, 387; memoir, by Stewart Mitchell, 267–268.
Forbes, Bertha Frances (Wilbur), 267.
Forbes, Edith (Emerson), 74.
Forbes, Edward W., 75.
Forbes, Harrie Wilson, 267.
Forbes, John Murray, 73, 74.
Forbes, Josephine M. A. (Crosby), 351.
Forbes, Lois (Whitney) [Perry], 268.
Forbes, Ralph E., 75.
Forbes, Waldo E., 75.
Forbes, W. Cameron, 74–75.
Forbes, Major William Hathaway, 348; and Col. John S. Mosby, paper, by Arthur S. Pier, 65–75, 348.
Force Bill, 123, 140.
Ford, Henry, 232.
Ford, Paul Leicester, 253.
Ford, Worthington Chauncey, 145, 147, 246, 333, 334, 335.
Forrestal, Sec. James, 203, 205*n*., 207.
Fort, ship, 47.
Fort Wagner, S. C., 68.
Foster, Abraham, 15.
Foster, Andrew, 15.
Foster, Ann, 15.
Foster, James, 374.
Foster, John, 260.
Foulis, Henry, 5.
Fowle, Daniel, 249.
Fox, Dorothy, 302.
Fox, Capt. ———, 38.
Framingham Castle, 3.
France, 144–145, 171, 173, 176, 178, 180, 181, 182.
Franklin, Benjamin, 157, 249, 251, 252, 253, 347, 382.
Franklin, James, 249.
Freeman, Constant, 47.
Freeman, Douglas Southall, 211, 214, 329; *Lee's Lieutenants*, 217; paper, The Continuing Ordeal of George Washington in the American Revolution, 317, 318, 362.
Freeman, Capt. ———, 36, 47.
French, Aletta (Lillibridge), gift, 318.
French, Capt. ———, 39.
French. *See* Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760, 33–49.
"French in America, The," exhibition at Detroit Institute of Art, loans to, 337.
Friedman, Lee Max, on Library Committee, 309, 344, 379; on Council, 328.
Frost, Robert, 10.
Fuess, Claude Moore, 104, 378; papers: Witches at Andover, 8–20, 383, Congressional Immunity and Privilege, 148–157, 325; gift, 380.
Fuller, Melville W., 138.
Fuller, Thomas, 3, 7.
Furer, Rear Admiral Julius A., 206.

GAELIC League, 53.
Gage, Gen. Thomas, 261.
Gallison, John (1788–1820), diary, 353.
Galloway's Plan of Union (1774), 51, 54.
Gannett, Rev. Ezra Stiles, papers, 386.
Gannett, Lewis, gifts, 383, 386.
Gannett, Rev. William C., 383.
Gardner, Samuel, 384.
Garfield, Harry Augustus, 319.
Garraty, John A., 102*n*.
Garrison, William Lloyd, 89.
Genealogists, American Society of, 362.
Geneva, 30.

George II, of Great Britain, 41, 44.
Georgia Gazette, 249.
Germany, 144–145, 147, 157, 171, 172, 173, 174, 176, 178, 180, 181, 182, 192, 194, 199.
Gerry, Elbridge, 239, 260.
Gettysburg, 68.
Gibbon, Edward, 144, 146.
Giffen, Rear Admiral Robert C., 222.
Gilbert, Benjamin, 313.
Gilder, Richard Watson, 139.
Gile, William A., 121.
Gillam, Benjamin, 311.
Gladstone, Herbert John, Viscount, 352.
Gladstone, William Ewart, 53.
Glencannon, Colin, 211.
Goddard, Mary Katharine, 256.
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 61.
Goldsmith, Oliver, 22.
Gooch, George Peabody, Honorary Member, 347, 354, 363.
Goodell, Abner Cheney, 145.
Goodspeed, Charles Eliot, death, 309, 330; tribute, 330.
Goodspeed, George Talbot, Resident Member, 312, 313, 330; gift, 326, 340.
Goodspeed's Book Shop, 251, 256, 336; gift, 321.
Gordon, Gen. George Henry, papers, 300.
Gould, Benjamin Apthorp, 59.
Gould, John, 217.
Graham, Philip A., 121*n*.
Granada, 47.
Grant, Alexander, 369.
Grant, Amy Gordon (Galt), 369, 370, 373.
Grant, Gordon, 369.
Grant, Madison, 236.
Grant, Judge Robert, 311; letter, 368–373.
Grant, Pres. Ulysses S., 77–78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 105, 107, 146, 148.
Gray, Gov. Isaac P., 139.
Gray, John C., 60.
Great Britain, 28, 30, 144–145, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 187, 189–190, 191, 341; gift from, 323, 338.
Greece, 171, 174, 175, 199, 200.
Greeley, Horace, 85.
Green, Samuel (1615–1702), 254, 341.
Green, Samuel Abbott, 265, 266; Librarian (1868–1918), 145, 334.
Green Island, Que., 37, 38.
Greenland, 194.
Greenleaf, E. Price, 244.
Greenleaf, William, 318.
Greenough, ———, 46.
Gregerson, ———, 277.
Grey, Sir Edward, 171.
Griffith, Arthur, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55.
Grigor, Harry E., 314.
Grimke, Archibald H., 326.
Grinnell, Frank Washburn, 314, 325, 327, 346, 347, 348, 383, 387; Recording Secretary, 308, 309, 328, 359.
Grolier Club, 252, 258.
Grove, Capt. ———, 46.
Grover, Rev. Stephen, 136.
Guadeloupe, 47.
Guatemala, 164.
Guerrière, H. M. S., 382.
Guild, Curtis, autograph collection, 357.
Guild, Gov. Curtis, Jr., 110.
Guild, Helen, gifts, 357.
Guild, Mary, gifts, 357.
Guild, Sarah L., gifts, 299, 304.
Gulf, Department of the, 99.

HADLEY, Moses, 356.
Hahn, [Michael], 100.
Haiti, 160, 161, 163, 192, 193.
Hale, Richard Walden, Jr., paper, The American and Irish Revolutions, 50–55, 381; Resident Member, 327, 330, 344, 362; gift, 347.
Halifax, N. S., 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 255.
Hallam, Henry, 7.
Halsey, Fleet Admiral William Frederick, 226.
Hamilton, Alexander, 304, 384.
Hamilton, Edward Pierce, Resident Member, 356, 357, 362.
Hamlin, Hannibal, 91.
Hampton Court, conference of 1604, 6.
Hampton Roads: Before and After, pa-

per, by F. Lauriston Bullard, 76–101.
Hancock, John, 62, 242, 326, 346, 351, 357; letter-books, 247.
Hancock, Mrs. John, gift, 241.
Hancock, ship, 357.
Hand, Judge Learned, 155.
Handcock, Miss ———, 21.
Handlin, Oscar, paper, American Views of the Past, 227–236, 386; Resident Member, 355.
Hannover, 145.
Harding, Chester, 347, 353, 363, 364.
Harding, Pres. Warren G., 108, 135, 192.
Hardy, Thomas, 19.
Haring, Clarence Henry, 317; paper, Latin American Dictatorships and the United States, 158–170, 351, 352.
Harpers Weekly, 124, 126.
Harrison, Pres. Benjamin, 123, 125, 135.
Harrison, Caroline Lavinia (Scott), 135–136.
Harrison, William Henry, Resident Member, 355, 362.
Harrity, William F., 139.
Harvard, History of, by Josiah Quincy, 62–63.
Harvard, Three Centuries of, by S. E. Morison, 56.
Harvard Business School, Library, gift, 314.
Harvard College, 146; Harvard Hall fire (1764), 25; Learning and Liquor at, 1792–1846, paper, by C. P. Curtis, 56–64; theses broadside (1643), 257; Burgis view of, 336; loan to, 337; gift, 356.
Harvard College Library, 25; gift, 311.
Harvey, Col. George B. M., 373.
Hatch, Capt. ———, 46.
Hatch Bill, 116.
Haupt, Herman, 318.
Havana, 161, 162, 195, 199.
Haviland, Brigadier ———, 33, 42, 48.
Hawaiian Islands, American acquisition of, 352.
Hawk, sloop, 45.
Hawke, Admiral Edward, 1st Baron Hawke, 34.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 316.
Hay, John, 81, 185, 311.
Hayes, Pres. Rutherford B., 74, 104, 107, 138.
Hayti, 89, 90.
Hazelton, John H., 257.
Heath, William, papers, 243.
Heffernan, Rear Admiral John B., 212, 224, 225.
Heintzleman, Gen. Samuel P., 67.
Henry VIII, of England, 4, 352.
Henry E. Huntington Library, 250.
Hewitt, Admiral H. Kent, 226.
Heylyn, Peter, 5, 6.
Higginson, Maj. Henry Lee, 68.
Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 311.
Hill, Arthur D., 369.
Hill, David B., 124.
Hill, Virginia, 153.
Hill, William, 321.
Hilton, ———, 65.
Hindenburg, Field Marshal Paul von, 144–145.
Hingham, 46, 110, 113, 327.
Hitler, Adolf, 198, 202.
Hoar, Sen. George Frisbie, 108, 109, 112, 114, 115, 116, 118, 120, 123, 127.
Hoffman, Henry W., 88.
Hogue, H. M. S., 145.
Hollis, Thomas, papers, 243.
Hollywood, 150.
Holmes, Abiel, 251.
Holmes, Jedidiah, 327.
Holmes, Newland H., 121*n*.
Holmes, Dr. Oliver Wendell (1809–1894), 28, 59, 61, 64.
Holmes, Justice Oliver Wendell (1841–1935), 60, 311, 341–342.
Holmes, Thomas J., 249.
Holmes, Capt. ———, 46.
Holmes's Hole, 36, 47.
Homans, George Caspar, Resident Member, 356, 357, 362.
Home Market Club, 123, 124.
Homer, Capt. ———, 45.
Honduras, 164.
Honeyman (Honyman), Rev. James, 21, 23, 24, 25.

Hooker, Rev. Thomas, 327, 340.
Hoover, Pres. Herbert C., 154, 161, 197.
Hopson, Gen. ———, 41.
Hornblower, Horatio, 211.
Horne, Vice-Admiral Frederick Joseph, 203*n*.
Hosmer, James Kendall, 311.
Houseman, A. E., 63.
House of Representatives, Reapportioning the, under the 1940 Census, by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., 237–239.
Hovgaard, William, death, 305.
Howard, Frederick, 5th Earl of Carlisle, 55.
Howe, Henry Forbush, 384; paper, Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760, 33–49; Resident Member, 349, 362; on Nominating Committee, 359.
Howe, Mark Antony DeWolfe, 104, 146, 246, 314, 324, 338, 382; paper, Dwellers in Old Dwellings: George Berkeley at Whitehall and Adamses at Quincy, 21–32; on Meetings Committee, 307, 310, 344, 379; Vice-President, 308, 327, 359, 381.
Howe, Parkman Dexter, on Council, 308, 328; on Committees: House, 309, 344, 379, Nominating, 385.
Howells, William D., 373.
Howland, Mrs. Weston, gifts, 383, 386.
Hubbard, William (1621?–1704), 240, 258–259.
Huebener, Elizabeth A., gift, 380.
Hughes, Charles Evans, 184–185, 193.
Hughes, Stuart, 169.
Hull, Cordell, 198.
Hull, Capt. Isaac, 382.
Hull, John, a Builder of the Bay Colony, by E. A. Jones, 269.
Human Knowledge, Principles of, by Dean George Berkeley, 21.
Humphreys, Capt. Charles A., 70.
Hungary, 51, 52.
Hunnewell, James Melville, on Finance Committee, 303, 309, 344, 378.
Hunter, Gen. David, 92.
Hunter, R. M. T., 76, 77.
Hunter, William, 184.
Huntington, Edward B., 238, 239.
Huntington, Henry Barrett, gift, 326.
Hurlbut, Gen. Stephen A., 87.
Hutchinson, Peter Orlando, 358.
Hutchinson, Gov. Thomas, 251, 351, 380; papers, 242, 243.
Hutchinson Family, papers, 242, 358, 376.
Hyannis, 36, 49.

ICELAND, 174.
Ile aux Coudres, Que., 38, 39.
Ile St. Ignace, 42.
Indians, North American, 22–23, 37, 44, 113, 116, 148, 248, 274, 275, 354, 363; rare books on, 248, 250, 255–256, 258–260, 261, 387; Central and South American, 166–167, 168.
Indian Weather Vane, by Shem Drowne, loaned to Brooklyn Museum and Denver Art Museum, 336.
Ingersoll, Joseph Reed, 148.
Inglish (English), Commander Alexander, 39, 47.
Ingram, Admiral Jonas Howard, 221.
Innis, Charles J., 366.
Internal Security Act (1950), 153.
International Conference of American States, 1928, 161, 162.
International Labor Office, 173.
International Sleeping Car Co., 173–174.
Irish Republican Army, 51.
Irish Revolutions, American and, paper, by R. W. Hale, Jr., 50–55, 381.
Italy, 169, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 202.

JACKSON, Pres, Andrew, 148, 354.
Jackson, Donald L., 154.
Jackson, Esther, gift, 300.
Jackson, Maj. Giles, 318.
Jackson, William Alexander, 320, 382, 387; on Committees: Meetings, 307, 310, 344, 379, Nominating, 307, 308.
Jacob, Sir Ian, 216.
James I, of Great Britain, 5, 6.
James, Laura, 34.
James, Malachi, at the Fall of Montreal,

1760, paper, by Henry F. Howe, 33–49, 384.
James, ———, 21.
James River, Va., 79.
Japan, 144, 169, 198, 199, 202.
Jay Treaty, 185.
Jefferson, Pres. Thomas, 157, 185, 318, 337, 339; papers, 245, 339, 340.
Jenkins, Lawrence Waters, gifts, 313, 316.
Jenner, Sen. William Ezra, 150, 153, 154, 325.
Jerusalem, The New, and the Puritan Fathers, paper by Mark Bortman, 385.
Jessopp, Dr. Augustus, 5.
Jessup, Philip, 155–156.
Jesuits, 3, 5.
Jews, 230.
John, schooner, 47.
John Carter Brown Library, 250, 251.
Johnson, Abigail, 14.
Johnson, Pres. Andrew, 98, 101.
Johnson, Elizabeth (Dane), 14, 17.
Johnson, Elizabeth, 14.
Johnson, Esther, Swift's friend Stella, 22.
Johnson, Marmaduke, 341.
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 7, 266.
Johnson, Rev. Samuel, of Stratford, Conn., 25.
Johnson, Stephen, 14.
Johnson, Stephen, Jr., 14.
Johnson, Gen. Sir William, 44.
Johnson, Quartermaster-Sergeant ———, 48.
Johnson's Island, Lake Erie, 78.
Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., 82, 83, 84.
Johnston, Thomas, 260, 336, 364.
Jones, E. Alfred, 269.
Jones, Mary E., gift, 382.
Jones, Matt Bushnell, 254–255, 387.
Joseph, transport, 41.
Joy, Benjamin, gifts, 347, 349, 363.
Joy, Benjamin, sea chest of, 347, 363.
Julian, George Washington, 311.

KALBFUS, Rear Admiral Edward Clifford, 221.
Kansas, 348.
Kansas City, stockyards, 31.
Kant, Immanuel, 171.
Kay, Nathaniel, 24, 25.
Keating, Kenneth Barnard, 153, 155, 156.
Keaton, ———, 384.
Keeley, Leslie E., 137.
Keen, Dr. William W., 134.
Kefauver, Sen. Carey Estes, 151, 152, 153.
Kelley, Lillian M., gift, 326.
Kellogg, Frank Billings, 185, 193, 197.
Kempis, Thomas à, 326, 340.
Kennan, George, 200, 201.
Kennedy, Ann (Calhoun), 378.
Kennedy, Donald, 378.
Kent, Amos, 56, 58.
Kent, Thomas G., 121.
Kentucky, question of slavery in, 92.
Kettell, Russell Hawes, gift, 313.
Kimball, D. Frank, 113.
King, Fleet Admiral Ernest Joseph. *See* A Postscript to *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, paper, by W. M. Whitehill, 203–226.
King, Ernest Joseph, son of Admiral E. J. King, 226, 320.
King, Fleet Admiral: A Naval Record, A Postscript to, paper, by W. M. Whitehill, 203–226, 320.
King Philip's War, 259–260.
King's College. *See* Columbia University.
Kirkland, Edward Chase, Corresponding Member, 320, 321, 330.
Knox, Commodore Dudley W., 211, 212.
Knox, Sec. Franklin, 207.
Knox, Henry, 357; papers, 376.
Knox, Capt. John, *Journal*, 38, 48.
Knox, Lucy, 357.
Korea, 177, 199, 200, 201, 202.
Kremlin, 202.

LABOR, Knights of, in New England, 103, 117.
Labor, movement, 113; strikes, 130, 132, 235.

Lacey, Mary (Foster), 15.
Lacey, Mary, 15.
Ladd, Nathaniel, 113.
Ladies' Home Journal, 135.
Lafayette, Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de, portrait, 337.
La Follette, Sen. Charles Marion, 151, 154, 373.
Lake Champlain, 33, 35, 42, 48.
Lake Ontario, 33, 35, 48.
Lake St. Peter, Que., 41, 44, 45, 46.
Lambert, Charles S., 351.
Lambton, John George, 1st Earl of Durham, 50.
Lamont, Col. Daniel S., Sec. of War, 132, 134.
Lamson, Capt. Nathaniel, 34, 36, 37, 46.
Land-Bank Controversy: 1714–1720, The Literary Aspects of the, paper, by Perry Miller, 350.
Lane, George Martin, 64.
Lane, Job, 355.
Lane, William Coolidge, 272.
La Prensa, 169.
Larcom, Lucy, 357, 376–377.
Latin American Dictatorships and the United States, paper, by Clarence Henry Haring, 158–170, 351.
Lattimore, Owen, 155–156.
Laud, Bishop William, 4.
Lauriston, Marquis de (Jacques Alexandre Bernard Law), 293.
Law of Civilization and Decay, by Brooks Adams, 236.
Lawrence, Abbott, 310.
Lawrence, Amos, 310.
Lawrence, Amos A., 310.
Lawrence, John Silsbee, gift, 310; Resident Member, 327, 330, 344, 362.
Lawrence Family, papers, 310.
Leach, Asa, 313.
League of Nations, 108, 165, 171–172, 174, 196, 197.
Learning and Liquor at Harvard College: 1792–1846, paper, by C. P. Curtis, 56–64.
Le Blanc, ———, French privateer, 37.
Lee, Gen. Robert Edward, 79, 81, 82, 83.
Leesburg, Va., 69, 71–72.
Leeward Islands, 47.
Leland, Waldo Gifford, 358; Resident Member, 379, 381.
Lenox, James, 250, 251.
Leopard, ship, 45.
Leverett, John, 355.
Levinson, Samuel, 197.
Lévis, Duc François Gaston de, 33, 34, 37, 48.
Lewis, John L., 286.
Lexington, Battle of, account of, 318.
Lexington, U. S. S., 220.
Liberia, 88, 89, 90.
Lillie, Capt. ———, 47.
Lima, 194.
Lincoln, Pres. Abraham, 138–139, 148, 384. *See* Hampton Roads: Before and After, paper, by F. L. Bullard, 76–101, and memoir of F. L. Bullard, by E. L. Page, 290–293.
Lincoln, Benjamin, portrait, 357.
Lincoln Group of Boston, 290, 292.
Lindenberg, Mrs. Margaret B., 321.
Literary and Philosophical Society, later the Redwood Library and Athenæum of Newport, 24.
Little, Bertram Kimball, Resident Member, 351, 353, 362.
"Little Marie," manuscript of play written by John Davis Long, 326.
Lizard, man of war, 39.
Lloyd-George, David, 54, 55.
Lobdan, Capt. ———, 46.
Lodge, Sen. Henry Cabot, 265, 311, 324, 345, 371. *See* paper, A Crucial Juncture in the Political Careers of Lodge and Long, by P. P. Chase, 102–127; papers, 299.
Lodge, Sen. Henry Cabot, Jr., 329, 343, 345.
Lodge Papers, 102*n*., 111, 345.
London, Jack, 235.
London, 22; Tower of, 3.
Long, Gov. John Davis, 146; papers, 326, 343. *See* paper, A Crucial Juncture in

the Political Careers of Lodge and Long, by P. P. Chase, 102–127, 311.

Long, Dr. Margaret, gift, 326, 343.

Loring, Augustus Peabody, Jr., Treasurer, 222, 297, 299, 303, 306, 307, 308, 317, 323; on Membership Committee, 310; death, 327, 330, 362; tribute, 330–331.

Loring, Augustus Peabody, Resident Member, 349, 350, 362.

Loring, Ellis Gray, portrait, 337.

Loring, Louisa (Gilman), portrait, 337.

Louisburg, 34, 36, 37, 40, 46, 49, 375.

Louisiana, question of slavery in, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Louisville Courier-Journal, 139.

Lovett, Alice B., gift, 385.

Lowdermilk & Company, 254.

Lowell, Abbott Lawrence, 272, 311, 324.

Lowell, Col. Charles, 66, 67, 70, 71–72.

Lowell, Charlotte (Loring), gift, 385.

Lowell, James Russell, 94, 244–245.

Lowell, James Russell, Letters of, C. E. Norton, Editor, 31.

Lowell, Ralph, on Finance Committee, 303, 309, 344, 378.

Lowestoft, frigate, 37.

Loyalists, American, in England, 376.

Luckis, Thomas, 357.

Ludendorff, Gen. Erich Friedrich Wilhelm, 144–145.

Luxembourg, 178. *See, also*, Benelux.

Lyman, Mrs. Henry, gift, 355.

Lyman, Col. Theodore, 315.

Lynch, Judge John Roy, 106.

MACARTHUR, Gen. Douglas, 200, 201.

McCall, Edward Rutledge, 354.

McCall, Gov. Samuel W., 110, 310.

McCarthy, Sen. Joseph R., 153, 156, 325, 326.

McCleary, Helen C., gifts, 357.

McCloy, John J., 155.

McCormick, Mrs. Stanley, gift, 380.

McCormick-Goodhart, Leander, gift, 300–301.

McCrea, Vice-Admiral John L., 219, 220.

McElwain, Alexander, 365; gift, 382.

McGeary, Dr. M. Nelson, 151–152.

McGrain *v.* Daugherty (1927), 149.

McIlwain, Charles Howard, 312; paper, William Alabaster, A Forgotten Member of the Winthrop Family, 3–7, 353–354.

Mackarness, Hugh J. Coleridge, 314.

Mackay, Capt. ———, 42, 43, 45.

McKean, Rev. Joseph, 57, 58, 60.

McKelway, St. Clair, 136.

McKenzie, Alexander, 145.

McKinley, Pres. William, 125.

McKinley Bill, 123.

MacLain, Capt. ———, 36.

McLean, Major Wilmer, 79, 81.

MacLeish, Archibald, 312.

Macready, Sir Nevil, 52.

MacSparran, Rev. James, 25.

McSwain, John Jackson, 156.

Madison, Pres. James, 88, 185.

Malartic, Comte de, 48.

Malladoc Island, 46.

Mann, Horace (1796–1859), papers, 355.

Mann, Horace, deposit, 355.

Mann, Mary Tyler (Peabody), 355.

Manuscript Collections, Some Aspects of the Society's, paper, by Stephen T. Riley, 240–247.

Marcus Aurelius, 144.

Marion, Gen. Francis, 51.

Marne, Battle of the, 145.

Marshall, Gen. George Catlett, Sec. of Defense, 214, 215, 325.

Marshall, Chief-Justice John, 88, 316.

Marshall Plan, 176, 177, 178.

Marshfield, Mass., 46.

Martin, Henry A., 380.

Martineau, Harriet, 386.

Martinique, 47.

Maryland, question of slavery in, 87–88.

Mason, John, 259.

Massachusetts, *History of*, by Thomas Hutchinson, revised by L. S. Mayo, 421.

Massachusetts, politics in, 102–127.

Massachusetts, sloop, 358, 375.

Massachusetts Club, 113.

Massachusetts Historical Society, 31; papers on: Some Aspects of the Manuscript Collection of, by S. T. Riley, 240–247, 356, Some of the Treasures of the, by M. J. Walsh, 248–262, 387; *Funds:* Massachusetts Historical Trust, 297, 323, 355, 387, Adams, 298, 303, Building Annex, 299, 325, 347, Sarah L. Guild, 299, 304, Winthrop Publication, 299, 306, 307, 347, Publication, 303, General, 303, 307, Frederic Bancroft, 303, Louisa W. Case, 303, Max Farrand, 303, John W. Farwell, 303, Helen A. (Lake) Lill, 303, Henry Lefavour, 303, Clarence B. Moore, 303, Grenville H. Norcross, 303, Charlotte A. Sibley, 303, Charles G. Washburn, 303, Albert Whitin, 303, John Langdon Sibley, 307, 332, 334, 336, 361, James Duncan Phillips, 327, 333–334, 345, 377, 382, 386, Endowment, 323, 333, 344, 346, 349, 350, 353, 354, 361, 377, 381, 383, 384, 385, 386, George Peabody, 335, William Bradford Homer Dowse, 331, 365–366, Mark Bortman, 377, 382, 386, Channing-Minot, 386; *reports of:* Treasurer, 297–299, 328, Council, 301–308, 329–335, 361–367, Cabinet-Keeper, 335–338, Librarian, 339–343, 368–377; accessions, 300–301, 304, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 318, 321, 326, 327, 345, 349, 351, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 363, 378, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387; *Committees:* Special, on Finances, 302–303, Finance, 303, 309, 310, 312, 325, 344, 364, 378, Meetings, 307, 310, 344, 379, Nominating, 307, 308, 309, 310, 312, 323, 385, House, 309, 333, 344, 379, Library, 309, 344, 379, Membership, 310, 344, 379, Publication, 310, 315, 316–317, 334, 344, 379; Council Members, 308–309, 327–328, 359–360; By-Laws, 310, 312, 315, 316–317.

Mather, Rev. Cotton, 10, 248, 249, 327, 340, 347, 374.

Mather, Rev. Increase, 12, 248, 249, 259, 260.

Mather, Samuel, 248, 249, 380.

Matthews, Nathan, 123.

Mauduit, Jasper, 327, 341.

Maule, Thomas, 249.

Maximilian, Ferdinand Joseph, Archduke of Austria, 190.

Maxon, Walter G., gifts, 326, 351.

Mayo, Catherine (Barton), gift, 380.

Mayo, Capt. Chester G., 223.

Mayo, Admiral Henry T., 223.

Mayo, Lawrence Shaw, 7.

Mecom, Benjamin, 251, 252.

Med. Fac., secret society at Harvard College, 65.

Mellon, Andrew W., Sec. of Treasury, 138.

Mercury, slave, sale of, 355.

Metternich, Prince Klemens Wenzel Nepomuk Lothar von, 171.

Mexico, 76–77, 166, 169, 190, 199.

Meyer, Arnold Oskar, 4.

Miantinomo, Indian, 250.

Middleburg, Va., 70.

Miles, Gen. Sherman, 317.

Millane, Clara Elizabeth (Bullard), 293.

Millard, Dr. Henry J., 300.

Miller, Perry, 362; paper, The Literary Aspects of the Land-Bank Controversy in Massachusetts: 1714–1720, 350.

Mills Bill, 116.

Milton, John, 7.

Minot, Joseph Grafton, Resident Member, 145.

Minot Papers, 356.

Missouri, question of slavery in, 86–87, 92.

Missouri River, 73.

Mitchel, Jonathan, 355.

Mitchell, Maggie, 326.

Mitchell, Stewart, Director, 300, 301, 306, 309, 310, 311, 313, 314, 316, 318, 320, 321, 324, 326, 327, 328, 338, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 351, 353, 354, 355, 359, 360, 378, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387; paper, The Society "Beats" Charles Francis Adams, 1914, 144–147; memoirs of Julius Herbert Tuttle, 265–266, Allyn Bailey Forbes, 267–268,

George Gregerson Wolkins, 277–278; gift, 311; reports of the Council, 301–308, 329–335, 361–367; on Committees: Special Finances, 303, Membership, 310, 344, 379, Publication, 310, 344, 379; death of, vi.
Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich, Plan, 177.
Moltke, Field-Marshal Count Helmuth von, 144–145.
Monroe, Pres. James, 75, 185, 187, 188, 189, 196, 379.
Monroe Doctrine, 76, 159, 160, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 200, 202, 379.
Montague, Gilbert Holland, gift, 306.
Montcalm de Saint-Veran, Marquis Louis Joseph de, 33.
Monte Cristi, Dominican Republic, 48.
Montevideo, 162, 193.
Montreal, Malachi James at the Fall of, 1760, paper, by Henry F. Howe, 33–49, 384.
Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, by Henry Adams, 31.
Moody, Robert Earle, on Council, 308, 328; on Committees: Publication, 334, 344, 379, Nominating, 385.
Moore, Abel, 57.
Moreland, Mabelle, gift, 351.
Morison, Priscilla (Barton), 359.
Morison, Samuel Eliot, 56, 145, 205, 359, 386; on Committee of Publication, 310, 334, 344, 379.
Morison, Rev. ———, 68.
Morris, Lewis, 380.
Morse, Charles F., gift, 354.
Morse, Col. Charles Fessenden, Civil War letters, 355, 378.
Morse, Charlotte, gift, 310–311, 313, 341.
Morse, Elijah, 117.
Morse, Frances R., legacy, 350.
Morse, John Torrey, Jr., papers, 310–311, 313, 341, 383.
Morse, Thomas F., gift, 354.
Morse, Thomas Robson, gift, 378.
Mosby, Col. John S., and Major William Hathaway Forbes, paper, by Arthur S. Pier, 65–75, 348.
Moscow, 173–174.
Motives, by William Alabaster, 4.
Motley, John Lothrop, 64.
Mournox, transport, 41.
Mugwump Party, 102, 104, 106, 107, 109, 123, 126.
Murphy, Charles Francis, 124.
Murphy, Edward, 130.
Murphy, Edward, Jr., 131, 132.
Murray, Gen. James, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 48.
Mussolini, Benito, 198, 202.

NAHANT, 105, 106, 108, 113.
Naples, 174.
Napoleon I (Napoleon Bonaparte), 144.
Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon), 190.
Nascapee Indians, 354, 363.
Nash, Chauncey Cushing, 317, 356, 364, 382; on Committees: Special, on Finances, 303, House, 309, 344, 379, Membership, 310, 344, 379; on Council, 309, 360; gifts, 345, 354, 363.
Negroes, 166–167, 168, 230, 234.
Nehru, Shri Jawaharlal, 288.
Nelson, Horatio, 217.
Netherlands, The, 178. *See, also*, Benelux.
Newbold, Mrs. T. Jefferson, gift, 327.
Newbury, Mass., 45.
Newburyport, Mass., 46, 48.
New-England Courant, 249.
New England Historic Genealogical Society, deposit, 376.
New-England Weekly Journal, 249.
Newfoundland, 47.
New Hampshire Gazette, 249.
New Hampshire Historical Society, gift, 311.
New Haven, Conn., 25, 26.
New Jersey, 36.
New Jerusalem and the Puritan Fathers, The, paper, by Mark Bortman, 385.
Newman, Capt. ———, 45, 46.
New Orleans, capture of, 99.

New-Plimouth, The Book of the General Laws . . . of, (1672), 253, 255.
Newport, R. I., Bishop Berkeley at, 21–27.
Newsweek, 156.
New York, 36, 38, 39, 47; regiments in the Civil War, 71, 72.
New York Public Library, 250, 251.
New York Times, 91–92, 131, 151, 155.
New York Weekly Post-Boy, 250.
New York World, 137.
Nicaragua, 159, 161, 163, 164, 170, 187, 192, 193.
Nicolay, John G., 81.
Nieman Fellows of Harvard, 362.
Nile, Battle of the, 217.
Niles's Register, 185.
Nimitz, Admiral Chester W., 203, 226.
Noble, Mrs. W. H., Jr., gift, 300.
Noble and Greenough medals, 385.
Norcross, Grenville Howland, Cabinet-Keeper (1904–1937), 145, 146.
Norcross, Lieut. John C., 351.
Norfolk House, One Generation of a, by Augustus Jessopp, 5.
Norris, Mark, 386.
North, Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guildford, 55.
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 173, 177–178, 180, 181, 182, 199, 200.
Northern Pacific Railroad, strike, 132.
Northrop, George Norton, 386.
North Sea, 47.
Northumberland, ship, 40.
North-West Territory, broadside of law concerning (1787), 258.
Norton, Charles Eliot, 31.
Norton, Elizabeth G., gift, 300.
Norton Family, papers, 300.
Nova Scotia, 36, 47, 49.
Noyes, Charles J., 121.
Noyes, Rev. Nicholas, 16, 351.
Nurse, Rebecca, 9, 247.
Nye, Sen. Gerald P., 154.

O'BRIEN, Frederick, 322.
O'Brien, Robert Lincoln, 291; paper, Grover Cleveland as Seen by his Secretary, 128–143, 314, 315.
O'Connell, William Henry, Cardinal, 369.
Oehler, Helen Irving, gift, 318.
Oil, Tidelands, Supreme Court decision on, 348.
Oklahoma, 348.
Old South Meeting House, Boston, 347.
Old York, Me., 45, 46, 48.
Oliver, Peter, Corresponding Member, 382, 383.
Oliver Family, papers, 358, 376.
Oneida, yacht, 133, 134.
Oregon, 192.
Orem, Vice-Admiral Howard E., 207, 222.
Organization of American States. *See* Pan American Union.
Organization for European Economic Co-operation, 176, 177.
Orinoco River, 191.
Orkney Islands, 47.
Orleans, Island of, Que., 38, 46.
Osborne, Thomas Mott, 275.
Osgood, Capt. John, 12, 13.
Osgood, Mary (Clemance), 12, 13.
Otis, Mrs. Herbert Foster, gift, 311.
Otis, James, papers, 243.
Oxnam, Bishop G. Bromley, 154.

PAGE, Elwin L., memoir of Frederic Lauriston Bullard, 290–293.
Paine, Thomas, 229.
Palfrey, John G., 242.
Palmer, Belle Davenport, gift from estate of, 300.
Paltsits, Victor Hugo, gifts, 316, 321, 357; death, 358, 363.
Panama, 90, 159, 160, 160–161, 164, 187, 188, 189.
Panama Canal, 159, 161, 192, 315.
Pan American Union, 158, 161, 164–165, 166, 199.
Paraguay, 187.
Paris, France, 145, 173–174, 196.
Park Family, papers, 314.
Parker, Alton Brooks, 142.

Parker, George F., 130–131, 139, 140.
Parker, Mary, 16.
Parker, Thomas, 382.
Parkman, Francis, 35, 48, 229, 245, 387.
Parkman, Henry, 121.
Parkman, Samuel Breck, 385.
Parnell, Charles Stewart, 53.
Parris, Elizabeth, 19.
Parris, Rev. Samuel, and his daughter, 9, 18–19.
Parsons, Theophilus, 59.
Passing of the Great Race, by Madison Grant, 236.
Patterson, Henry W., gift, 311.
Patti, Adelina, 292.
Pearl Harbor, 164, 205.
Peirpoint (Pierpont), Francis H., 97, 98–99.
Pell, Stephen Hyatt Pelham, death, 297, 305.
Pelley, William Dudley, 151.
Pelzer, Alonzo, 290.
Pembroke, man of war, 39.
Penhallow, Samuel, 259.
Pennsylvania, University of, 26.
Pensante, barge, 45.
Pepperrell, Sir William, 376; papers, 243.
Pericles, 352.
Perkins, Dexter, paper, Diplomacy and Popular Government, 184–202, 379.
Perkins, Elliott, 353.
Perkins, Joseph, 58.
Perón, Pres. Juan Domingo, 165, 167, 169, 170.
Perry, George, 316.
Perry, Thomas Sergeant, 341.
Peru, 162, 163.
Peters, Andrew J., 312.
Phi Beta Kappa Society, 146. *See* Learning and Liquor at Harvard College: 1792–1846, paper, by C. P. Curtis, 56–64.
Philadelphia, 34, 35, 36, 39, 230.
Philadelphia Ledger, 133–134.
Philadelphia Press, 133.
Phillips, Christopher H., 365–366.
Phillips, Henry, 261.
Phillips, James Duncan, 387; Fund, 327, 333–334, 344–345, 377, 381, 386; on Council, 328.
Phillips, John Marshall, Corresponding Member, 317, 330; death, 387.
Phillips, Stephen Willard, 346, 352, 378; gift, 306.
Phillips, Wendell, 64, 387.
Phillips, William, 320, 356; gifts, 346, 349.
Phips, Spencer, 376.
Phips, Sir William, 13, 17.
Pickering, Timothy, books from library of, 316.
Pier, Arthur Stanwood, 312; paper, Major William Hathaway Forbes and Colonel John Singleton Mosby, 65–75, 348.
Pierce, Benjamin, 64.
Pierce, Dr. John, 57, 58, 60, 61.
Pinckney, Charles Lucas, 353.
Pine Tree Shillings, 338.
Pitt, William (1708–1778), 1st Earl of Chatham, 33.
Planter, vessel, 265.
Platt, Edward J., gift, 351.
Platt, Orville Hitchcock, 160, 161, 193.
Platt Amendment, 160, 161, 193.
Plaza, Pres. Galo, 164.
Pleasonton, Gen. Alfred, 67, 68.
Pleven, René, 181.
Plunkett, Sir Horace, 54.
Plymouth Colony, 248.
Polk, Pres. James K., 189, 192.
Pollard, Anne, portrait, 337.
Poolesville, 68, 69.
Pope, Alexander, 22.
Porcellian Club, Harvard College, 368. *See* Learning and Liquor at Harvard College: 1792–1846, paper, by C. P. Curtis, 56–64.
Porcupine, ship, 42.
Porson, Richard, 63.
Porter, Adm. David D., 79.
Porter's Tavern, Cambridge, 60, 61, 64.
Port Roseway, later Shelburne, N. S., 37.
Portugal, 175.
Postal and Telegraph Union, 173.
Potomac River, 68.

Powder-horns, 354.
Powers, John E., 121*n.*
Powers, Samuel L., 110.
Pownall, Gov. Thomas, 48, 376, 383.
Pratt, Admiral William V., 204, 205*n.*
Prescott, William Hickling, 63–64, 326.
Price, Ezekiel, diary, 244.
Priestley, Joseph, 321.
Princeton University, 245.
Protestant Religions, 4–6, 171, 229. *See, also*, under names of denominations.
Pruden, O. L., 140.
Prussia, 144.
Puerto Rico, 159.
Pulitzer Prizes, 50, 291.
Puritan Fathers, and the New Jerusalem, The, paper, by Mark Bortman, 385.
Putnam, Ann, 9, 11–12, 13, 14, 19.
Putnam, Rev. George, 61.
Putnam, Thomas, 19.
Putnam, Sergeant ———, 9.

QUAKERS. *See* Society of Friends.
Quebec. *See* Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760, by H. F. Howe, 33–49.
Quiberon Bay, 34.
Quincy, Edmund (1703–1788), 312.
Quincy, Edmund (1808–1877), 59.
Quincy, Col. John (1689–1767), 30.
Quincy, Josiah (1772–1864), 62; gift, 244.
Quincy, Josiah (1859–1919), 123.
Quincy, Katherine, letter from her father, Edmund Quincy (1703–1788), 312.
Quincy Family, papers, 246.
Quincy, Mass., Adamses at, paper, by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, 27–32.

R*ACEHORSE*, frigate, 37.
Race Point, Mass., 36.
Racster, John, 4.
Radical Civic Union, 167.
Raleigh, N. C., 83.
Rand, Dr. Benjamin, 26.
Randall, James Garfield, death, 384.
Randolph, Edmund, 339.
Ranney, ———, 122.
Rantoul, Harriet C., gift, 318.
Rantoul, Robert, Jr., 318.
Rantoul, Robert S., 243.
Rantoul Family, sale of Jefferson Papers, 245.
Raymond, Henry J., 91–92.
Read, Mrs. Ellen Bowdlear, gift, 356.
Red Cross, 173.
Red Jacket, Seneca Chief, 354.
Redmond, John, 53, 54.
Redmond, William, 53.
Redwood Library and Athenæum, Newport, R. I., 24.
Reed, Thomas B., 123.
Remick, Christian, 311, 336.
Remington Rand, Inc., 201.
Renunciatory Act, 1778, 55.
Renwick, William Goodwin, Resident Member, 320, 321, 330.
Republican Party, 31. *See* paper by P. P. Chase on Lodge and Long, 102–127.
Repulse, ship, 47.
Restigouche, N. B., 38.
Revere, Paul, 336, 337, 339.
Reynolds, John, 5–6.
Reynolds, William, 5–6.
Rhode Island, Commerce of, 1726–1800, 145.
Rhodes, Ann (Card), 373.
Rhodes, Mrs. Daniel Pomeroy, gift, 324, 338.
Rhodes, James Ford, 146, 229, 291, 311; letters to, 146–147, 368–373; papers, 246, 310; portrait, 324, 338; tribute, 324.
Rice, Gov. Alexander H., 108.
Rice, Nathan, gift, 327.
Richards, Capt. ———, 72–73.
Richelieu River, 42.
Richmond, Carleton Rubira, on Committees: House, 309, 344, 379, Nominating, 323, 327.
Richmond, Va., 78, 85*n.*, 146.
Rigaud, Philippe de, Marquis de Vaudreuil, 33, 48.
Riley, Stephen Thomas, Librarian, 300,

304, 310, 313, 314, 324, 328, 345, 346, 350, 351, 356, 357, 358, 359, 365, 381, 382, 386; paper, Some Aspects of the Society's Manuscript Collection, 240–247; Resident Member, 305; reports, 339–343, 368–377.
Rimouski, Que., 37.
Rio de Janeiro, 199, 200.
Ripley, Ezra, 65, 66.
River Queen, steamer, 76, 79.
Robertson, Rhodes, gift, 311.
Robinson, Fred Norris, on Nominating Committee, 307, 308.
Robinson, Gov. George D., 108, 109, 111, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122.
Rogers, Rev. E. P., 312.
Rogers, Col. Hamilton, 70–71.
Rogers, James Grafton, 155.
Rogers, Prince, 46.
Rogers, Major Robert, Journals of, 35.
Rollo, Brig.-Gen. Andrew, Lord Rollo of Duncrub, 40, 41, 42.
Roman Catholic Church, 3, 4, 5, 6.
Roman Treasons and Usurpations, History of, by Henry Foulis, 5.
Romulus Augustulus, 144.
Roosevelt, Pres. Franklin Delano, 129, 161, 162, 198, 206, 219, 312, 379.
Roosevelt, Pres. Theodore, 106, 108, 126, 129, 135, 159, 160, 192, 193, 194, 278, 311, 315, 320, 325; letter concerning, 368–373.
Rosenbach, A. S. W., 374.
Rostovtzeff, Michael Ivanovich, death, 378.
Rowe, Frank E., 314.
Roxana, by William Alabaster, 6, 7.
Roxbury Institute of Savings, loan to, 337.
Ruck, Samuel, 384.
Ruhr, The, 178.
Russell, J. E., 121, 122.
Russell, Gov. William E., 110, 123.
Russia, 144, 157, 164, 172, 174, 177, 202.

S-*4*, United States submarine, 148.
Saar, The, 174, 182.
Sacco-Vanzetti case, 291.
Sachuest, R. I., beaches, and "Bishop Berkeley's Seat," 24.
St. Andrews, Que., 45.
St. Augustine, 171.
St. Barnabas Island, Que., 37.
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, 148.
St. Columba Church, Newport, R. I., 26.
St. Foy, battle of, 34, 37.
St. George's School, Newport, R. I., 26.
St. James's, Court of, 29.
St. Lawrence River. *See* Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760, by H. F. Howe, 33–49.
St. Louis, 230.
St. Paul's River, Que., 39.
St. Vincent, 1st Earl of, John Jarvis, 217, 218.
St. Vincent, Battle of, 217.
Salem, witchcraft, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 383.
Salem Village, later Danvers, witchcraft, 8–10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19.
Salem Witchcraft Papers, 247*n*.
Salvador, El, 164.
Sanborn, Franklin Benjamin, 145–146.
San Domingo, 89.
San Francisco Conference (1945), 166, 199.
Sargent, Henry, 357.
Sargent, John Osborn, letters, 326.
Sargent, John Singer, 324.
Sargent, Capt. Lucius Manlius, 68.
Saunders, Capt. Thomas, 358, 375.
Savage, James, 241, 242.
Scammell, Alexander, 321.
Scandinavia, 175, 176.
Schlesinger, Arthur Meier, 104, 378; on Committee of Publication, 310, 334, 344, 379.
Schouler, James, 146, 311.
Schriftgiesser, Karl, 105, 107, 123–124.
Schuman, Robert, 173, 174, 176, 178.
Schuman Plan, 178, 180, 181.
Schurz, Carl, 104, 105, 106, 108, 126, 311.
Schuyler, Capt. ———, 72.
Scopes, John T., 232.
Scott, Henry R., gift, 300.
Scott, Gen. Winfield, 300.
Scriblerus Club, London, 22.

Sears, David, 297.

Seaver, Henry Latimer, 387; on Committees: Nominating, 307, 308, 385, Library, 309, 344, 379; on Council, 309.

Second Massachusetts Cavalry, 65, 71–72.

Sedgwick, Catherine Maria, 356.

Sedgwick, Charles, 356.

Sedgwick, Ellery, 250; gift, 306.

Sedgwick, Theodore, 356, 384.

Senate Banking and Currency Committee, 151.

Senate Internal Security Committee, 150.

Seven Years' War. *See* Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760, by H. F. Howe, 33–49.

Sewall, Judge Samuel, 18, 351.

Seward, William H., 76, 77, 78, 84, 190.

Seymour, Horatio, 306, 334.

Shakespeare, William, 22.

Shattuck, Henry Lee, 327.

Shaw, G. Howland, 155.

Shaw, Col. Robert Gould, 68, 355, 378.

Shawsheen River, 16.

Sheehan, William F., 130.

Sheffield, Earl of. *See* John Baker-Holroyd.

Shenandoah Valley, 73.

Shepley, Gen. George F., 99, 100.

Sherman, Admiral Forrest P., 205, 205*n.*, 210*n.*

Sherman, John, Sec. of Treasury, 133.

Sherman, Gen. William Tecumseh, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85*n.*

Shetland Islands, 47.

Shipmate, 206.

Shipton, Clifford Kenyon, 312, 320; memoir of Charles Knowles Bolton, 271–273; Sibley Editor, 306, 332, 366; on Committees: Nominating, 307, 308, Publication, 310, 334, 344, 379.

Shirley, Gov. William, 241, 313, 376.

Shurtleff, Mrs. William, portrait, 363.

Sibley, John Langdon, 332, 361, 366.

"Silence Dogood," pseudonym of Benjamin Franklin, 249.

Silver Purchase, Bill, 123; Act, 133.

Silver Shirt Legion, 151.

Sinn Fein, 51, 53, 54.

Slavery, 355. *See* Hampton Roads: Before and After, paper, by F. L. Bullard, 76–101.

Smibert, John, 21, 26, 336, 337.

Smith, Aaron, 300.

Smith, Abigail (Adams), 29.

Smith, Adam, 142–143.

Smith, Charles C., 244.

Smith, Edson B., 129.

Smith, John B., 129.

Smith, John Rubens, 357.

Smith, Jonathan, paper, Toryism in Worcester County During the War of Independence, 145.

Smith, Justin Harvey, 146.

Smith, Col. William Stephens, 29.

Smith College, loan to museum of, 363–364.

Society of Friends (Quakers), 26.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 21, 25.

Solon, 352.

Somerville Citizen, 124.

Somoza, Pres. Anastasio, 164, 170.

Sophia, Electress of Hanover, 375.

Sorel, Que., 42.

Sostratus, 352.

South Carolina, 97.

Spaak, Paul-Henri, 174, 176.

Spain, 171, 175.

Spanish-American War, 159.

Sparks, Jared, 243.

Spengler, Oswald, 236.

Spenser, Edmund, 7.

Springfield Republican, 124.

Spurzheim, Johann Gaspar, portraits, 363–364.

Stahel, Gen. Julius, 67.

Stalin, Joseph, 212.

Stamp Act, 250.

Standish, Miles, 259.

Stanton, Sec. Edwin M., 82, 83, 84–85, 90.

Stanwood, Edward, 273, 278, 320.

Stapleton, Capt. ———, 46.

Stark, Admiral Harold R., 203*n.*

State Street Trust Company, loan of coins for exhibition, 338, 364.

Stearns, Frank W., 133.
Steele, Sir Richard, 22.
Steele, Zadock, 345, 374.
Steichen, Edward, 208*n.*
Stella. *See* Esther Johnson.
Stephens, Alexander H., 76, 77, 78.
Stephens, Lieut. John A., 78.
Stevens, Abbot, Resident Member, 350, 362.
Stevens, Henry, 250–251.
Stevens, Mrs. Ralph E., gift, 300.
Stevens, Thaddeus, 101.
Stevenson, Mrs. Abby, 74.
Stevenson, Vice-Pres. Adlai Ewing, 133, 139, 140.
Stewart, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh, 171.
Still, Dr. John, 3.
Stimson, Henry Lewis, 185, 197.
Stoddard, Solomon, 351, 387.
Stone, Col. Henry, 72.
Storer, Malcolm, 338.
Storey, Charles Moorfield, 287; gifts, 311, 313.
Storey, Moorfield, 104, 107, 117, 123, 311.
Story, Justice Joseph, 63; portrait, 347, 363, 364.
Story, William Wetmore, 64.
Stoughton, Gen. Edwin H., 67.
Stoughton, Judge William, 17.
Strachey, William, 255.
Strassburg, 174, 176.
Streeter, Thomas W., 256.
Streit, Clarence K., 172–173.
Strong, John, 293.
Stuart, Gen. J. E. B., 68.
Sturges, D. C., 208*n.*
Success, schooner. *See* Malachi James at the Fall of Montreal, 1760, by H. F. Howe, 33–49.
Sullivan, Daniel, 345.
Sumner, Charles, 64, 101, 104.
Sumter, Thomas, 51.
Sunderland, Rev. Byron, 136.
Sutherland, ship, 40, 47.
Swanton, Commodore Robert, 47.
Swedenborg, Emanuel, 61.
Swift, Jonathan, 22.
Switzerland, 175.
Symmes, Thomas, 259.

TADOUSSAC, Que., 38.
Taft, Pres. William Howard, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373.
Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, 171.
Talmadge, Rev. T. DeWitt, 136.
Tammany Hall, 130.
Tannenberg, Battle of, 145.
Tanner, Obour, 300.
Tarbell, Ida Minerva, 311.
Tariff, 103, 116, 117, 123.
Tarpaulin Cove, Elizabeth Islands, 36, 49.
Tate, Vernon Dale, 347, 358, 359; on Library Committee, 309, 344, 379.
Taylor, Edward Thompson, "Father" Taylor, daguerreotype, 378.
Taylor, John 337.
Taylor, Rinaldo R., 321, 342.
Taylor, Pres. Zachary, 76.
Teheran, 212.
Temperance movement, 110, 113, 137.
Tennessee, question of slavery in, 98, 101.
Texas, 98, 185, 348.
Thacher, Thomas, 260.
Thanksgiving Day, 138.
Thayer, Judge Adin, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 121, 127.
Thayer, Mrs. Charles M., 115*n.*
Thayer, Nathaniel, 297.
Thayer, William Roscoe, 311, 369; Corresponding Secretary (1912–1923), 145, 146.
Thomas, Isaiah, 261.
Thomas, Sylvanus, 327.
Thompson, Charles, 258.
Thompson, William, 232.
Thurber, Henry T., 140–141.
Tidelands Oil, decision of the Supreme Court, 348.
Tilden, Samuel J., 101, 104, 107, 130, 131.
Tinker, ———, 121.

Tissue of History, The, paper, by C. F. Adams (1835–1915), 146.
Tituba, Negro servant, 9.
Todd, William C., gift, 338.
Topsfield, 18.
Toryism in Worcester County During the War for Independence, paper, by Jonathan Smith, 145.
Toynbee, Arnold Joseph, 236.
Treadwell, Grace W., gift, 316.
Tremaine, Marie, 255.
Trent, Council of, 4.
Trevor, U. S. destroyer, 220.
TRIDENT, conference, 206.
Trinity Church, Newport, R. I., 21, 24, 25, 26.
Trinity College, Cambridge, 3, 7.
Trinity College, Dublin, 22.
Troies-Rivières, Que., 41, 45.
Trujillo Molina, Pres. Rafael Leonidas, 164.
Truman, Pres. Harry S., 155, 199, 200, 201, 213.
Trumbull, David, 241.
Trumbull, Gov. Jonathan, papers, 241, 243, 247.
Truxtun, Thomas, 354.
Tucker, Lieut.-Gov. Joseph, 357.
Tucker, Sidvin Frank, 374–375; gifts, 378.
Tucker, Capt. ———, 46.
Tufton, Capt. ———, 41.
Turkey, 174, 175, 199, 200.
Tuttle, Edmund Sherman, 265.
Tuttle, Eliza Ann (Conant), 265.
Tuttle, Jennie Crehore (Carroll), 266.
Tuttle, Joanna, 265.
Tuttle, John, 265.
Tuttle, Julius Herbert, 267, 334; memoir, by Stewart Mitchell, 265–266.
Tyler, Moses Coit, 259–260, 311.
Tyler, Royall, 380.
Tyringham, Mass., town-meeting document (1775), 318.

U-*9*, German submarine, 145.
Ulster, 52.
Un-American Activities, House Committee on, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154.
Union Now, by C. K. Streit, 172–173.
Union Pacific Railroad, 31, 279.
United Irishman, 51.
United Nations, 155, 164, 166, 170, 172, 174, 175, 199.
United States, 172, 174, 175–176, 177, 178, 260.
United States, Latin American Dictatorships and the, paper by C. H. Haring, 158–170.
United States Census Bureau. *See* Congressional Reapportionment Under the Census of 1950, paper by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., 237–239.
United States During the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison, History of, by Henry Adams, 31.
United States National Park Service, 27.
United States Navy. *See* A Postscript to *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, paper by W. M. Whitehill, 203–226.
United States Supreme Court, 149.
Unity, schooner, 48.
Updike, Col. Daniel, 24.
Uruguay, 164, 167.

VALLEY Forge, 230.
Vandenberg, Sen. Arthur H., Resolution, 199, 238.
Vanessa. *See* Esther Vanhomrich.
Vanguard, flagship, 37, 40, 47.
Vanhomrich, Esther, Swift's friend Vanessa, 22.
Van Winkle, William Mitchell, Corresponding Member, 320, 321, 330.
Varennes, Que., 43.
Vargas, Getulio, 164.
Vassall, Major Leonard, 28, 29.
Vassar College, gift, 300.
Vaudreuil, Marquis de. *See* Philippe de Rigaud.
Vaughan, Mrs. Richard, gift, 378.
Velde, Harold H., 150, 153, 154.
Venezuela, 163, 190, 191.
Vernon, Vice-Adm. Edward, 301, 337.

Versailles, Treaty of, 196.
Vienna, Congress of, 171.
Vienna, Ga., 70.
Viets, Henry Rouse, 387.
Vincent, John Carter, 155.
Vincent, Philip, 259.
Virginia, question of slavery in, 96, 97, 98–99, 101.
Vision, The Theory of, by Dean George Berkeley, 21.
Volkens, Friedrich Ludwig Heinrich, 277, 319.
Voltaire, 61.
Vryling, John, silversmith, 328, 337, 345.

WADE, Sen. Benjamin F., 148.
Walcott, Mary, 11–12, 13.
Walcott, Robert, 356, 382; Resident Member, 347, 349, 362.
Walcott, Deacon ———, 11.
Walker, Joseph H., 108, 118, 125.
Wallis, Capt. ———, 38.
Walpole, Henry, 5.
Walpole, Horace, 4th Earl of Orford, 33.
Walsh, Arthur, 219.
Walsh, Michael Joseph, Resident Member, 312, 313, 330; paper, Some of the Treasures of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 248–262, 387.
Walsh, Sen. Thomas J., 152, 154.
Walter, Nehemiah, 300.
Ward, Artemas (1727–1800), 386.
Ward, Artemas, Jr., 386.
Ward, Henry Dana, 386.
Ward, Thomas Wren, 326.
Wardwell, Sarah, 17.
Wardwell, Samuel, 15–16.
Ware, Rev. Henry, 386.
Warner, Rawleigh, 207.
Warren, Sir Peter, 376.
Warren, William M., 314.
Washburn, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C., gift, 257.
Washburn, Charles Grenfill, 108, 111, 126, 378; gift, 341.
Washburn, Helen Abbott, gift, 318.
Washburn, Henry Bradford, 381.
Washburne, Elihu B., 80.
Washington, Booker T., 301, 311.
Washington, Pres. George, 156, 230; paper on, by D. S. Freeman, 317, 318, 362.
Washington, vessel, 349.
Waterhouse, Benjamin, 29.
Waters, Benjamin, 313.
Watterson, Henry, 139.
Wayman, Dorothy G., gift, 385.
Wealth of Nations, by Adam Smith, 142.
Webster, Daniel, 88, 126, 148, 258, 376; papers, 244; portraits, 364.
Webster, Edith (Forbes), 74.
Weightman, Richard, 141.
Welch, Richard, 39.
Welles, Sec. Gideon, 83.
Welles, Sumner, 193.
Welsteed, Rev. William, portrait, 337.
Wendell, Barrett, 146, 311.
Wendell, William G., 224.
Wentworth, Gov. Benning, 241.
West, Albert, gifts, 383, 385.
West, Herbert F., 131.
West Indies, 28, 35, 47, 48, 159.
West Virginia, 94.
Wharton, Edith, 10.
Wheatland, Stephen, Resident Member, 314, 315, 316, 330; on Nominating Committee, 323, 327.
Wheatley, Phillis, 300.
Wheeler, Benjamin Ide, 369.
Wheeler, Warren Gage, 304, 386; Resident Member, 305.
Wheelwright, Edmund March, 337.
Wheelwright, Elizabeth (Brooks), gift from estate of, 337.
Wheelwright, John T., 123.
White, Richard Grant, 311.
White, William Allen, 369, 371, 372.
White, Lieut.-Col. ———, 69.
Whitehill, Walter Muir, 310, 312, 313, 314, 315, 317, 320, 323, 329, 347, 349, 350, 358, 359, 360, 378, 381, 382, 387; paper, A Postscript to *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record,* 203–226; Cabinet-Keeper, 300, 305, 308, 311, 314, 328, 346, 351, 355, 359,

363, 383, 384, 385; on Committees: Publication, 310, 334, 344, 379, Membership, 344, 362, 379; report, 335–338.
Whitney, Hugh, Resident Member, 353, 354, 362.
Whitney, William C., 130, 131, 132, 139, 141.
Whiton, James Morris, 381.
Whittier, John Greenleaf, 377.
Wichita, U. S. cruiser, 222.
Wilderness, Va., Battle of, 71.
Willard, Rev. Samuel, 17.
Willcox, Walter F., 238.
Willey, William Lithgow, gifts from estate of, 349, 351.
William Alabaster's Seven Motuies [*sic*] *Removed and Confuted*, by John Racster, 4.
Williams, Abigail, 9, 19.
Williams, George Fred, 123.
Williams, Grace, gift, 321, 342.
Williams, Israel, Papers, 243.
Williams, Nellie, gift, 321, 342.
Williams, Roger, 347.
Williams, William, 250.
Williams, William Trumbull, 250.
Williams, W. C., gifts, 312, 313, 357.
Williams College, gift, 351.
Willis, Nathaniel, 336.
Willis, Nathaniel Parker, 336.
Wilmington, N. C., 36.
Wilson, Edwin C., 155.
Wilson, Rev. John, 260.
Wilson, Judge Joseph Thomas, 106.
Wilson, Thomas James, 3rd, Resident Member, 320, 321, 330.
Wilson, Pres. Thomas Woodrow, 108, 162, 171–172, 185, 192, 195, 196, 197, 199, 315, 379.
Winship, George Parker, 257, 261; death, 358, 363.
Winslow, Dr. Charles F., 318.
Winsor, Justin, 271.
Winthrop, Adam (1498–1562), 3.
Winthrop, Adam (1548–1623), 3.
Winthrop, Adam (1781–1846), 321.
Winthrop, Agnes (Sharpe), 3.
Winthrop, Alice (Still), 3.
Winthrop, Frederic, 347; Fund, 299; gifts, 306, 332, 333, 353.
Winthrop, Adm. George Teale Sebor, 357, 375.
Winthrop, James (1752–1821), 321.
Winthrop, Gov. John (1588–1649), of Mass., 3, 241–242, 250, 251, 347, 354.
Winthrop, Gov. John, Jr. (1606–1676), of Conn., 347.
Winthrop, Nathaniel, gift, 333, 353.
Winthrop, Robert, 347; Fund, 299; gifts, 306, 332, 333, 353.
Winthrop, Robert C. (1809–1894), 64, 316, 347, 357.
Winthrop, Robert C., Jr., gift from estate of, 245.
Winthrop, Sarah T., Memorial Fund, 333.
Winthrop Family, papers, 241–242, 245, 299.
Wirt, William, 380.
Witchcraft, 8–20.
Witches at Andover, paper, by Claude M. Fuess, 8–20, 383.
Wolcott, Roger, 105, 123, 125, 315, 316, 358; Corresponding Secretary, 308, 313, 317, 321, 328, 344, 349, 350, 353, 354, 355, 356, 359, 377, 381, 383.
Wolfe, Gen. James, 33, 49.
Wolfe, transport, 41.
Wolf's Cove, Que., 45.
Wolkins, George Gregerson, 314, 315, 335; memoir, by Stewart Mitchell, 277–278; gift, 312; death, 316, 330; tributes, 319–320, 331.
Wolkins, Lyra (Trueblood), 277, 319.
Woman Suffrage, 103, 110, 113, 134, 135.
Wood, Anthony à, 7.
Wood, Grant, 11.
Wood, William, 34, 35, 48.
Woodbury, R. C., gift, 358.
Woods Hole, Mass., 36.
Worcester County, Mass., 145, 146.
Worcester Daily Telegram, 122.

Worcester Spy, 111, 112, 116, 122.
Wordsworth, William, 63.
World Bank, 170.
World War I, 27, 144–145, 147, 171–172, 192, 236, 277.
World War II, 149, 164, 166, 173, 174, 194, 280. *See* A Postscript to *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record*, paper, by W. M. Whitehill, 203–226.
Wrangel, Gen. Pëtr Nikolaevich, Baron, 280, 322.
Wright, Samuel, 300.
Wriley, Michael, 326.
Wrong, George MacKinnon, 34, 35, 48.
Wroth, Lawrence C., 251.

YALE University, 26; Library, 25.
Yamato, Japanese battleship, 209.
Yeo, James J., 300.
York, Me., 46.
Young, Alexander, 59.
Young, A. P., 71.
Young Men's Christian Association, Boston, 347.

ZELAYA, José Santos, 161.
Zuver, Helen Dorothea (Bullard), 293.

1976 /

1980 |

1982 -1